

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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## ANTI-SUFFRAGE ARGUMENTS ILLUSTRATED.

### I.—The "Woman's Place is the Home."



### Who Will then Earn the Daily Bread?

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

#### THE OUTLOOK.

On Thursday in last week, following upon the campaign which the Women's Social and Political Union have been holding in his constituency, Mr. Lloyd George addressed the Women's Liberal Association in Carnarvon and discoursed on the Woman Suffrage Bill, endeavouring to explain his attitude towards it in the House of Commons.

##### Principal Points of his Speech.

In the course of his speech he made the following points:—His action in voting against the second reading of the Bill was not a breach of the pledge made by him at the Albert Hall because the conditions which he had then laid down had not been fulfilled. He was opposed to the Bill because he was opposed to plural voting, and the Bill would increase

the number of plural voters and would also enable every woman of property to get a vote, while enfranchising only a small proportion of working women; moreover, the Bill did not enfranchise the wives of working men; these were the women who ought to be enfranchised as they had been in Australia and New Zealand. He was not prepared to place the question of Woman Suffrage in front of the House of Lords question or Welsh Disestablishment. He deprecated the cry of "deeds not words," believing that arguments must first be adduced, and he did not consider that Woman Suffragists had waited very long for what they wanted—certainly they had not waited so long as the Irish or the Welsh. The adoption of militant methods by the women was as stupid as it would be by the Welsh Party. Finally he urged that to carry the Bill would be impossible in view of the fact that the Lords might throw it out and that he and Mr. Asquith would then have to fight the Lords on a matter on which he considered the Lords had right on their side.

##### Point by Point.

It is difficult to deal fully and adequately with such a bundle of incorrect statements and fallacies as those put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but we shall deal with them as fully as space allows. In defending his vote on the second reading of the Bill as not being a breach of his Albert Hall utterance, Mr. Lloyd George is confounding two issues, firstly, the refusal of the Government to provide time for further discussion of the Bill, and secondly, their attempt to defeat it on the second reading. Suffragists rightly condemn the Government as a whole, and Mr. Lloyd George as a prominent member of it, for refusing to the House of Commons time for effectively dealing with the question of Woman Suffrage in a manner

of which the majority had shown their approval; but they also condemn Mr. Lloyd George more especially for his duplicity in pretending to be a friend of Woman Suffrage and at the same time opposing, fortunately ineffectively, the one Bill which, by uniting opposite sections of political opinions in the House of Commons, possesses the likelihood of becoming law this Session.

##### Plural Voters.

As to the principal points of Mr. Lloyd George's speech, in which he argued quite incorrectly that the present Bill would largely increase plural voting, and would give undue prominence to the propertied classes, his arguments and misstatements are dealt with fully by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in her leading article in our issue this week. She also shows up his futile treachery in attempting to sow dissension between those women who are wives and those who are spinsters or widows by his pretended advocacy of the former as against the latter. Mr. Lloyd George knows perfectly well that he cannot produce any Bill likely to pass into law at an early date which will effect the result which he professes to desire, and that therefore his tactics are directed towards delaying, and, if possible, preventing any enfranchisement of women whatever.

##### "Deeds, not Words."

When Mr. Lloyd George jeers at the aphorism "deeds, not words" and pretends that in the case of Woman Suffrage words do not precede deeds, he is at direct variance with facts. As is well-known, a constitutional struggle for the Vote went on for over 40 years and is still proceeding with the utmost perseverance, something like 50,000 meetings in advocacy having been held during the last four or five years by the Women's Social and Political Union alone. If this



time is not long enough for men, as Mr. Lloyd George seems to suggest by his reference to the question of Welsh Disestablishment, it is certainly quite long enough for women. In this connection it is interesting to know that when Mr. Lloyd George was a private member, and not therefore concerned as he is to-day to defend the action of the Liberal Executive, he took an entirely different view. Speaking at Bangor on May 17, 1894, he said:—

Someone had spoken of the dog-like fidelity of the Welsh members. They had suffered for their loyalty. When a Liberal Ministry whistled for them the Welsh members scampered away in the Liberal service, until they were almost out of breath, and if they occasionally barked for want of a bone, their masters had simply to appear on the scene and they skulked back to their kennels like whipped curs. They were fighting now for their national character, and must have a resolute, strong, independent policy.

The advice that Mr. Lloyd George gave to the Welsh men in 1894 is the advice that we give to the Liberal women of to-day.

#### Previous Utterances on Militant Methods.

Anent his denunciation of all methods to-day other than those of peaceful persuasion, it is interesting to recall some of the speeches he made in Wales in deliberate incitement of the defiance of the law practised by the Welsh County Councils in view of the Education Acts. Speaking at Cardiff on June 3, 1903, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

The Government of the day had simply flouted the principle of representative Government. But the question being reopened, it must not be closed until it was satisfactorily settled.

The next step was to fight—and fight it out—and he appealed for unity, absolute unity in carrying out the policy now adopted.

Again, at Carnarvon, on January 6th, 1904, he said:

The Welsh Councils would absolutely refuse to administer the Act, and the Church and present Government must be held responsible for consequent anarchy.

Again, at Llanfyllin, February 29th, 1904, he said

They were told they were engaged in an illegal conspiracy. They might depend upon it the hearts of Welshmen would never be roused by an impulse of illegality. It was not merely a passion for breaking the law that had inspired his countrymen; there was not a more law-abiding or more loyal portion of the Empire than Wales. . . . Wales never had more friends than now, and all were trusting to Wales and admiring the courage Welshmen were showing.

And again at Llandrindod Wells, April 3, 1904, he said:

We are charged as law-breakers. We do not break the law, but we decline to become instruments to carry out an oppressive law. . . . There is no danger of Wales becoming a nation of law-breakers, but there is a danger which we have got to avoid, it is the danger that we should become docile, and would bend without protest to an act forced upon us against our will. A nation as poor spirited as that has no future of honourable service for humanity.

Extracts might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*, but one more must suffice. Speaking at Pwllheli, August 6, 1906, Mr. Lloyd George gave utterance to the following:

There was a time when people laughed at Wales. They were beginning now, thank God, to get angry with Wales. When a man got into a temper with one then one could rest assured that he was worth something. People were getting very angry with Wales, and the more angry they got the more glad would he be. By-and-by they would cease to be angry.

Mr. Lloyd George is certainly angry with the Woman Suffragists at the present time; perhaps he will have to be more angry before he will give in, but neither his anger nor his double dealing will suffice to check the progress of the Woman Suffrage movement.

#### Mr. Lloyd George and Home Rule.

Moreover, though Mr. Lloyd George referred to the position of Home Rule, he failed to point out to his hearers that, according to no less an authority than the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, it was the militant methods of Mr. Parnell that had made the problem of Home Rule one of urgent practical politics. And who is there who will doubt that the prospect of success of the Irish party to-day depends more on the power of Mr. Redmond to strike a blow at the Liberal Government than on any question of abstract justice?

#### Mr. Lloyd George shown up.

Mr. Lloyd George has not remained without answer in the public Press. In *The Times*, on Monday, appeared a letter from Mr. Brailsford, written in the convincing style which we have learnt to look for from this distinguished writer. Mr. Brailsford, in the midst of other pertinent remarks, asks how it is that, if the municipal franchise for women is so shamelessly defective as Mr. Lloyd George would have us believe, successive Liberal Governments since 1868 have been content to leave it unreformed. A longer extract from his letter will be found on page 768. The *Scotsman*, in a strong leader, from which we also give extracts on the same page, shows up the hollowness of Mr. Lloyd George's arguments, adding, "Mr. Lloyd George has incurred grave responsibility—he has embittered the Suffrage controversy, for he has treated the women who are earnest in it with contempt." On the same page will also be found other interesting extracts of opinion from different sources.

#### Party before Justice.

By his speech on Woman Suffrage Mr. Lloyd George has for once succeeded in pleasing the *Times*. In a leading article that journal applauds the way in which he performed "what might for a less courageous and less versatile speaker have proved a somewhat delicate task"—the task, namely, of explaining his vote against the Conciliation Bill. "He is quite right, from his point of view," further says this anti-suffrage organ, "to oppose a measure which not only is not democratic, but is in many respects anti-democratic, and is supported not without a touch of levity and even cynicism by many politicians for that very reason." The *Morning Post* in commenting upon Mr. George's speech begins by condemning the party spirit by which it is inspired in the following terms:—

The mere fact that he is pledged up to the eyes to support the enfranchisement of women and yet opposed the Bill in support of which all advocates of that cause had united gives him no cause for self-reproach. He has an explanation which, however little it may commend itself to those who had been led to depend upon his support, is perfectly satisfactory to himself and, it may be added, per-

fectly consistent with the rule of his political career. He voted against the principle of women's suffrage because the form in which it was presented offered little chance of party gain. The so-called Conciliation Bill, he declared, was undemocratic, by which he means it was not deliberately biased in favour of the faction by whose assistance he himself has climbed to power and occupies a position that was counted one of the most responsible and dignified in the State.

The *Morning Post* discerns in the speech an outline of a plan of campaign to be adopted should the Conference result in a settlement of the Lords question.

Their one object is to find some specious cry which will distract attention from the bankruptcy of Liberal administration. In the art of window-dressing they are supreme, and this preliminary advertisement indicates their latest scheme of decoration. A great demagogic measure to extend the franchise, to lower the qualifications of the voter, to make registration easy, will be coupled with the abolition of the right of the property-holder to record his vote in the localities where he has a real and unquestionable interest. This measure, which Mr. Lloyd George openly defends on the ground that it will strengthen his faction, will be represented to the Suffragists as the necessary preliminary to granting the vote to women.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Unionists who voted against the Suffrage Bill did so because they believed the principle of women's suffrage was bad. The fact that the Unionist Party might gain some immediate advantage did not weigh with them. They did simply what they believed to be right. The result is that Mr. Lloyd George can angle for the support of the Suffragists to carry through a policy invented solely for the benefit of the Liberal Party.

We can assure the *Morning Post* that if such be the policy of the Government, their angling for the support of Suffragists will be in vain.

#### Florence Nightingale.

The most popular heroine of our time has passed away in the person of Florence Nightingale, who died last Saturday at the age of 90. On page 764 we give an account of her work, not only the splendid achievement in the Crimea, but her less-known work for half a century afterwards. This woman, who by her splendid organisation literally saved half the British army from death, who reorganised the whole of the army medical arrangements, who practically founded a new skilled profession for women, who received from a grateful country a sum of £50,000 (devoted by her to found a training school for nurses) and the rare honours of the Order of Merit and the Freedom of the City of London—this woman was met by the same senseless criticism that meets the women of to-day who are seeking wider opportunities of service. As the *Daily News* said in its leading article on Monday last:—

Miss Nightingale was, after she carried her points, the subject of so much sentimental enthusiasm that one is perhaps in danger of forgetting her originality and her qualities of intellect. She was by no means a person who leaped easily into the limelight and won cheap and universal applause by doing with dash and bravura an obvious thing. On the contrary, all her early steps were taken in the face of social prejudice and dogged by cavil and ridicule. Some people in these latter days have fancied her name as a stick to beat other pioneering women with. Miss Nightingale, they say in effect, is the conspicuous example which shows that women can richly serve the world while remaining "womanly" in the most orthodox sense. But the fact is that Miss Nightingale in her day incurred about as much obloquy on the score of "unwomanliness" as anyone has in ours. It was only her success which acquitted her, and enabled her to secure a definite advance at once for women and for humanity.

Miss Nightingale through the wisdom of her father had received the full equivalent of a University training, being a good Greek and Latin scholar, and having a thorough knowledge of mathematics. Without such a training, and the subsequent special training she imposed on herself, her work could not have been done, and the world would have been immeasurably poorer. When will men and women learn the folly and wickedness of attempting to block the way of human development and emancipation?

#### Testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

Our readers will learn with pleasure that it is proposed to give a public testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy in recognition of the splendid work for Suffrage done by her for nearly fifty years. Mrs. Elmy began work on behalf of women in 1861; four years later she helped to found the Manchester Suffrage Society, and in 1866 she collected three hundred signatures to the original Suffrage Petition presented to the House by John Stuart Mill. Since then Mrs. Elmy has worked constantly for Woman Suffrage and was instrumental in securing the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, and the Infants Act. When the Women's Social and Political Union was founded, Mrs. Elmy realised at once that here was the force needed to bring to success the patient efforts of all the older suffragists, and she has been the Union's faithful and devoted colleague. Particulars of the memorial will be found on this page. Many of our readers will feel it a privilege and a pleasure to show their recognition of the splendid work done by this veteran suffragist.

#### Seed-Sowing.

The present moment provides a unique opportunity for introducing the VOTES FOR WOMEN newspaper to new readers, and increasing its circulation and its usefulness. The Members of the Union are scattered far and wide. They find themselves after months of strenuous work with comrades of the same vision and faith in new surroundings, brought into contact with a new set of people, every one of them a centre of some circle of human association. And these people also have escaped from the usual ruts, and are ready for new ideas and new interests. This time, therefore, is the precious time for sowing the seed. In a few weeks the harvest will be made manifest. There will be new faces in the Queen's Hall audience when the regular meetings begin again. Above all there will be new and regular subscribers to the paper, and that means a new force of trained and equipped fighters in the battlefield.

#### The Competition.

The Competition Scheme, which is to be found set forth in detail on page 766, supplies an element of sport to the work which the members of this Union are doing so loyally and well. Those who enter into the lists of competitors find

that work becomes play, because it is turned into a game, where each is trying to out-do the other in friendly and happy rivalry. It is a sort of Votes for Women tournament. It is not too late to enter the lists. This is a race where the tortoise often overtakes the hare. No member of the Union should go away without taking the book of ten order forms which is supplied free by post from 4, Clements Inn. Her holiday will be ten times more sweet in the remembrance, if she comes home with that little book filled up with names. There are six events in this tournament, and competitors can enter for them all, or select those which are most promising of results. There is no entrance fee, and though not all can win the specified prizes, all will win success. And all will achieve the reward which is dearest to those who belong to the W.S.P.U.—the happy knowledge that they have, during the holidays even, done signal service to the movement which signifies to us all that is best in life. We urge our readers to apply themselves with zest to winning new honours upon the "tented field."

#### Woman the Scapegoat.

We commented recently on a foolish speech by a medical man, who ascribed the falling birth-rate to women's interest in the Suffrage question. We are glad to hear that on the occasion of that speech four medical women protested, and that one of them pointed out in a speech—which curiously enough was not reported anywhere—that it was shameful to blame women only for a falling birth-rate, when, in too many cases, as medical men and women know perfectly well, sterility in a wife is the result of illness contracted from a vicious husband.

#### Items of Interest.

Mrs. Pankhurst will have the opportunity of replying to Mr. Lloyd George at the end of this week, as she is speaking in Bangor this (Friday) evening at a public meeting, and addressing a meeting of women at the same place on Saturday afternoon.

At the end of August Mrs. Pankhurst goes to Scotland, where she will address several meetings. Some particulars will be found on p. 769.

In the course of a speech delivered in Glasgow, Mr. George Barnes, M.P., said that if the working men here had only half the pluck, the resource, and the statesmanship exhibited by the women of late, then Britain would have had as good a Pensions Bill as Australia.

### PUBLIC TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In this year, when the successful issue of the long struggle for women's enfranchisement seems at last to be assured, we feel it to be a most appropriate time for women suffragists to come forward and show as far as they can their great appreciation of the noble work done by one of the oldest workers in our great movement. Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, whose devoted work is so well known to us, began her efforts for the improvement of our countrywomen in 1861, having assisted in forming an association of schoolmistresses and a society mainly composed of ladies whose object was to obtain better opportunities of technical training for women, and to secure their admission to various employments for the higher education of women. In 1865 Mrs. Elmy helped to found, and became the first hon. secretary of, the original Manchester Woman Suffrage Society. She collected more than three hundred of the signatures to the original Women's Suffrage Petition (numbering 1,499 signatures) which was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill, on June 7, 1866. From that day to this her efforts to secure the enfranchisement of women have been persistent and untiring.

Mrs. Elmy was one of those who revived the agitation in support of the Married Women's Property Act in the year 1867, and in 1868 became Secretary of the Married Women's Property Committee, which office she held until the year 1882, when the last Married Women's Property Act was carried. In the year 1883 Mrs. Elmy, with the aid of but a few other devoted workers began the agitation to improve the law in regard to the custody and guardianship of children, and the Infants Act of 1886, which gave a widowed mother the right to the custody and guardianship of her children, was placed upon the Statute Book largely owing to her efforts. In 1892 Mrs. Elmy founded the Women's Emancipation Union, a Society which did much to further the legal, social, and political interests of women. Mrs. Elmy is the author of a number of most valuable books, papers, and pamphlets on a variety of subjects dealing with the emancipation of women. It is impossible adequately to express the wonderful influence which she has exercised for so many years, for there are few prominent social workers with whom she has not corresponded, and who have not received from her both encouragement and stimulus in their efforts.

We believe that in this moment, when the promise of speedy victory for the Suffrage cause is before us, our fellow-workers will feel themselves privileged, as we do, in being able to join in showing a mark of gratitude to one who began to work long before we did, and who has done so much to make possible this victory in which we all rejoice.

A committee has been formed for the purpose of giving practical expression to the appreciation felt by men and women for Mrs. Elmy's long and untiring efforts in the interests of women. It is proposed that it shall take the form of a public testimonial.

We cordially invite all members of the W.S.P.U. and all friends of the cause of women's emancipation to co-operate with us in making this testimonial a success. Donations should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Martindale, Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

LOUISA MARTINDALE,  
JULIA SMITH HOLYOAKE,  
EMMELINE PANKHURST,  
EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE,  
CONSTANCE LYTTON,  
JANE COBDEN UNWIN,  
MONA TAYLOR.



# THE STORY OF THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

By Frederick W. Pethick Lawrence.

The story of the Women's Social and Political Union is the last chapter in a book the earlier chapters of which are not familiar to the general public. Long before the foundation of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903 women were working and agitating for the extension to them of the Parliamentary vote, and they succeeded in showing a demand among women on an enormous scale.

As early as 1816 women were taking part with men in the great movement which ultimately led to the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, but although their work was in part responsible for that measure, yet they did not share at all in the result; on the contrary, they were by its enactment for the first time in British politics wholly excluded from exercising the franchise. It was not, however, till 1867 that they made a strong and concerted effort to be recognised as citizens. During the years from 1867 to 1884 their agitation grew in numbers and influence, and was supported by leading men and women all over the country, who sent up an immense number of petitions and memorials to the House of Commons. During the fourteen years 1866 to 1879 there were over 9,000 petitions, with 3,000,000 signatures. Following upon this, from 1879 to 1884, public meetings by women were held in all the largest halls of the country, and in every case an almost unanimous vote in favour of the possession of the franchise was carried. Meanwhile, candidates for Parliamentary honours were being pressed to declare themselves favourable to Woman Suffrage, and this they did in such numbers that when the Reform Bill of 1884 was under discussion a clear majority of the House were pledged to support a Woman Suffrage clause. In that year took place one of the most shameful incidents of British politics, when at the dictate of Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the House, members broke their pledges and were false to the women of the country.

At that time women were not prepared to adopt a fighting policy and as a result they were completely discomfited by this dishonesty on the part of M.P.'s. The supporters of Woman Suffrage lost heart; many keen Woman Suffragists diverted their energies into other channels, and up and down the country the cause retrogressed. Meanwhile, in the House of Commons the question was treated as one for ridicule only, and by the deliberate connivance of the Governments of the day candidates were allowed to pledge themselves to Woman Suffrage on the distinct understanding that it would never be necessary to carry their pledge into effect. Time after time the Woman Suffrage Bill was talked out amid jeers and ridicule, or by some such discreditable device as the prolonged debate upon the "Vermineous Persons Bill" the discussion of the question was never reached. Even where a second reading division was taken on the measure it was done on the definite knowledge that no further time would be given to the later stages of the Bill.

## The Birth of the Women's Social and Political Union

This was the position of affairs when Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. At first there were no signs that this new society would adopt a different policy from that of its predecessors. The members of the W.S.P.U. spent their time in addressing meetings in different parts of the country and carrying on the usual kind of peaceful propaganda. It was in the year 1905 that a new departure was taken which was to revolutionise the whole Woman Suffrage agitation. In the Autumn of that year the Conservative Government was in a moribund condition, and it was evident to everyone that before long a Liberal Government would come into power. On October 13 a great meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, at which Sir Edward Grey was the principal speaker. Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney accordingly went to the meeting to find out what would be the policy of the Liberal Government if they were returned to power at the next General Election. They waited till the close of Sir Edward Grey's speech, and then put their question, among others which were being put by men from various parts of the Hall. When these other questions were answered theirs was ignored. They accordingly rose again to put it, and no answer was given. They persisted, and were thrown out of the hall with violence, and were arrested for holding a protest meeting in the street; they were sentenced to prison, Christabel Pankhurst to one week and Annie Kenney to three days.

From that day in October 1905, when the Union first came into public notice on account of the action of these two women, it has grown with startling rapidity until it has assumed its present gigantic proportions. In the spring of 1906 the Union set up headquarters in London. During the first year of its existence it raised amongst its members and friends £2,700, in the second year it raised £7,000, and in the third year over £20,000, while last year the contributions, exclusive of the takings for literature, were over £30,000. At the end of the first year it had premises in London consisting of seven rooms, and it employed eleven women as inside and outside staff; at the end of the second year it had thirteen rooms and was employing thirty people; at the present time it has one of the best equipped political offices in the country, having twenty-one rooms in its London offices alone and employing over one hundred persons.

The work of the Union is along three main lines: firstly,

education, secondly, organisation, and thirdly, militant action. These three activities are all pursued concurrently and are interdependent.

## Educational Work.

Never by any society in this country has the work of political education been carried further than it has by the Women's Social and Political Union. During the four and a-half years since its foundation in London as a national organisation it has held upwards of 50,000 public meetings in different parts of the country; many of these have been on a gigantic scale, for in every large town the greatest halls have been taken and filled repeatedly with enthusiastic gatherings of women. In London the great Albert Hall, containing many thousand seats, has been filled on eight separate occasions by the W.S.P.U., and in the Queen's Hall a regular At Home is held every Monday afternoon, and in the St. James's Hall every Thursday evening, which are crowded with men and women anxious to hear the latest developments. In Manchester, the great Free Trade Hall has been many times crowded. In Bristol, the Colston Hall; in Birmingham, the Town Hall; in Leeds, the Coliseum; in Bradford the St. George's Hall; in Liverpool, the Sun Hall; in Glasgow, the St. Andrew's Hall; in Edinburgh, the Synod Hall—here and elsewhere great gatherings have assembled and have given enthusiastic support to woman suffrage.

But the largest of all meetings have been held in the open air. The most memorable of these are the two great meetings which have been held in Hyde Park—on Sunday, June 21, 1908, and on Saturday, July 23, 1910. At the time of the first demonstration the correspondent of *The Times* wrote:—

"The Organisers of the demonstration had counted on an attendance of 250,000. That expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled; and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distances and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.

And the latter the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* described as follows:—

"In mere size this Demonstration of the Women's Social and Political Union was certainly the most momentous thing of the kind that London has ever seen."

This last gathering was not only remarkable, like the other, for its success but for the wholehearted sympathy and support of the crowd.

## The Woman's Press and Shop.

One of the signs of the great interest aroused by the Women's Social and Political Union has been the rapid growth of the Woman's Press, which is the literature department of the Union. During the first year a trade of £60 worth of literature was effected, in the second year the figure had risen to over £600, and it is now over £9,000, including the sale of the colours of the Union and of the paper *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

At the beginning of the present year, in view of the increasing trade, it was decided to take a shop in the centre of London, and very suitable premises at 156, Charing Cross Road, close to Tottenham Court Road, were taken. Here, with the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* clock to mark the time of day outside, a brisk business is done, and many are the passers-by who stop to interest themselves in the movement.

## "Votes for Women" Newspaper.

The paper itself was founded in October, 1907, by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as a monthly periodical. It was transformed by them into a weekly paper in April, 1908, and has been growing in size and in circulation ever since. At the present time it has a circulation of over 30,000 a week, and its success is so well recognised in the advertising world that it pays its own way.

## Organisation.

The second matter of supreme importance in carrying on a movement is organisation, and in this the Women's Social and Political Union has made itself thoroughly effective. In addition to the offices at headquarters which have been already referred to it carries on its work in the provinces from twenty-five main centres, from which proceed a network of organisations. Thus in London alone twenty local unions are in existence, which cover the different areas of the metropolis.

## Militant Action.

But though the W.S.P.U. carries out educational work on a gigantic scale through its vast organisation, it realises that something further may be necessary to compel politicians to take notice of the question, and it therefore carried on for four years militant action of three kinds. First, at every by-election and at the General Election it threw its influence into the scale against the Government because of the opposition of the Government to Woman Suffrage. In the second place, women have made protests in the same way as men have done at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers, and for this they have been ejected with violence. In the third place, women have gone on deputations to see the Prime Minister, and on his refusal to receive them have persisted until they were arrested and taken into custody. At the beginning of 1910, after the General Election, a truce in militant activities was declared, and this has continued until the present time, but the Women's Social and Political Union recognise that unless the Government are prepared to remove their veto from the

Woman Suffrage Bill militant tactics may have to be resumed.

(A fuller explanation of the militant tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union, together with an answer to the question why women want the vote will be found in "*Women's Fight for the Vote*," by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Paper, 6d. net, cloth, 1s. net, from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.)

## The Membership of the W.S.P.U.

Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability to further the campaign funds of the Union.

## THE MASTER-JOY.

We shall not travel the road that we have made;  
Ere day by day the sound of many feet  
Is heard where we have toiled and fought and prayed,  
We shall be come to where the Cross-roads meet.

For us the heat by day, the cold by night,  
The inch-slow progress and the heavy load,  
And Death at last to close the long, grim fight  
With man and beast and stone: for them—the Road.

For them the shade of trees that now we plant,  
The safe, smooth journey and the ultimate goal—  
Yea, birthright in the Land of Covenant—  
For us day-labour, travail of the soul.

And yet—the Road is ours, as never theirs;  
Is not one joy on us alone bestowed?  
For us the Master-Joy, O Pioneers!  
We shall not travel, but we have made the Road.

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# FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, O.M.

## The Story of Her Work.

"I am young, happy and free;  
I can devote myself; I have a life  
To give."

—BROWNING.

It is so long since the deeds in the Crimea which made Florence Nightingale famous that some of us have hardly realised that she was still amongst us. Now in her 91st year she has gone to her rest after a life of devoted service to her country. In the Crimea she lost her health, and for half a century she has lived entirely shielded from the public gaze, yet it is not too much to say that Florence Nightingale is perhaps the most popular heroine in all history. Her splendid heroism under the most terrible conditions, of which we give an account below, is so bright a page in history that it has put into obscurity her other splendid work. From the time of the Crimea onwards, although she was not on the active list, she influenced the whole course of nursing, sanitation, and army medicine. No step was taken without her advice, and from her little house in South Street she wielded as great an influence as though she were head of the Army Medical Department. All the splendid new activities of that nursing profession which she practically brought into being, were helped by her counsel, and even within a short time of her death she was still taking the keenest interest in nursing affairs.

### Her Character.

Probably the one adjective that would by universal consent be applicable to her is that of "womanly." Miss Nightingale showed, however, that womanliness did not mean weakness. No woman could have accomplished what she did without tremendous strength of will and utter disregard of hostile criticism. There is no parallel record, says one paper, of a combination of the highest feminine tact with the highest masculine energy, perseverance, and determination; and the Lady-in-Chief soon wielded an absolute sway over all who were called upon either to listen to her counsels or to give effect to her commands. She had a genius for getting things done when she saw that they needed to be done. Every step in her early life—her training for nursing, her matronship of the hospital for invalid gentlemen, and her offer of help in the Crimea—was criticised hostilely. She was accused of being unwomanly, insincere, fond of notoriety, but she went on her way unheeding, and did the work she was called to do, and she is now the most honoured woman of her time. For personal advantage she cared nothing. She sought to escape from all expression of gratitude, and the gift of £50,000 from the country she devoted to the foundation of a training school for nurses, the forerunner of the splendid institutions of to-day.

Two years ago, when the freedom of the City of London was conferred upon her, she asked that the money, which according to custom would have been spent on a golden casket, should be given to the Queen's Institute for District Nurses for the sick poor.

### A Suffragist.

Such a woman was naturally in favour of women's suffrage. When she was asked to give her reasons she answered, "I have no reasons. It seems to me almost self-evident that every householder and taxpayer should have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being." When asked to join the Woman Suffrage Society by John Stuart Mill, she at first declined on the grounds that she thought she could further the cause better by excelling in her own special sphere. Owing to his view that "we owe it to our fellow creatures and to posterity to struggle for the advancement of every opinion of which we are deeply persuaded," she joined in the movement and took an active part in it, realising through her deep friendship with Josephine Butler, that woman's enfranchisement is absolutely essential to a nation, if moral and social progress is to be made. She realised also the value of definite work for women. "Three-fourths of the whole mischief in women's lives," she once said, "arises from their excepting themselves from the rules of training considered needful for men."

Is it not strange that while the alien can qualify as a voter, and even a criminal who has served his punishment can once again become an elector, this woman—who, by her initiative and her power for organisation in the face of special difficulties imposed upon her by reason of her womanhood, saved half the British Army—should be barred out for ever from a place in the citizenship of her country and should be kept in the political category of "criminals, lunatics, and children"?

### The Story of Her Life.

Florence Nightingale was born at Villa Colombaia, Bellosguardo, near Florence, on May 12, 1820, the daughter of William Thomas Shore Nightingale. Her mother was a daughter of Mr. William Smith, the well-known member for Norwich, who worked earnestly with Clarkson and Wilberforce in the cause of the emancipation of the slaves, and upheld for many years the interests of the Dissenters in Parliament. It was probably from him that Florence Nightingale inherited that philanthropy and broad-mindedness which all through her life was characteristic of her.

Her education, which was conducted under the personal supervision of her parents, included, in addition to French and the ordinary accomplishments of young ladies of the time of George IV., German, Italian, literature, science, and

classical and mathematical studies, in which she was proficient. In her girlhood she became a great traveller, visiting most of the chief cities of Europe, and even going so far as Egypt, at a time when travelling was far from easy, railways being then practically unknown.

She was never fond of ordinary society, and seemed happiest when tending the sick and infirm. Thus we can readily understand how her acquaintance with that devoted and noble-hearted woman, Elizabeth Fry, influenced her in the choice of her life work. Mrs. Fry was one of the first in England to realise the good work of the Kaiserswerth organisation, a body of Protestant Deaconess nurses who had started an effort to assist female prisoners, and in 1849 Florence Nightingale joined them, afterwards working with the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, in Paris.

It is hard for us to realise what all this meant in those days. In her home she had to face the strong opposition of her parents, and the study of hospital administration in those early days was a matter very different from what it is to-day. But Miss Nightingale, quite undeterred by the prejudices against what seemed extraordinary and unconventional curiosity, omitted no opportunity of gaining a practical insight into the treatment of the sick. On her return to England she speedily put into use all that she had learned. For she immediately took charge of the Gentlemen's Hospital in Harley Street, which had fallen into decay. She gave both money and time to its restoration, and after fifteen months of arduous work placed it



By permission of Messrs. Cassell and Co., Ltd.  
MISS NIGHTINGALE.

on a footing of prosperity and usefulness hitherto unknown. Thus it was that all unconsciously she was being prepared and fitted for the great task that lay before her.

It was shortly after this, in the summer of 1854, that the Crimean war broke out, and most of us are familiar with the terrible stories that soon reached England of the awful confusion in the arrangements, and of all the evils that followed in its train.

After the battles of Alma, Inkerman, and Balaklava, all England was filled with horror and indignation at the failure of the hospital system. It was then that Florence Nightingale, "of slender, delicate form," stepped into the breach and offered her services. Shortly afterwards, with a party of about forty, she set out for the seat of war. In the early part of November, 1854—in fact on the very eve of Inkerman—Miss Nightingale landed at Scutari.

Who can picture the awful task that lay before her? The great three-storied building in which lay rows and rows of sick and wounded was a perfect stable of filth and mismanagement. The sick and wounded, who had been brought in boatloads from the Crimea, were crowded together in a state of inconceivable wretchedness, with hardly a change of clothing, without medicines, and at times almost without food. Death was busy among them, but as fast as the wards were emptied by the Destroyer they were refilled by the ghastly importations from the battle-fields and trenches. Miss Nightingale had barely arrived before the wounded from Inkerman began to stream into the hospital. In about six weeks 8,000 patients had been sent to Scutari from the Crimea—to say nothing of those who had been left in the hospitals when the expedition started. There was not room for so many as half the number. The beds in the hospitals literally touched each other. It was often difficult to reach one wounded man without walking over the body of his comrade. Rats in-

vaded the wards, and ran with impunity among the living and the dead. Hundreds of men perished through merely breathing the air of the place. The rate of mortality from all causes was indeed frightful.

In the first six months of the war the deaths from sickness alone had been at the rate of 60 per cent of the entire army; in the last six months of it the soldiers were in better health than those at home. This was the result of Miss Nightingale's work.

In point of fact, the task of Florence Nightingale was nothing less than to save the British Army. Without her, or at any rate without some such labour as that which she undertook, our generals would soon have been left without a single man. Her efforts were proportionate to the greatness of the occasion. The cleansing and adaptation of the hospital, the establishment of a laundry and of sick-diet kitchens, the supply of food and of all kinds of necessaries, and the organisation of a regular system of nursing and a staff of nurses—for many had to be dismissed as incompetent—all this was planned and carried through under the terrible pressure of a constant race with death.

This is a brief outline of the wonderful work organised and carried out by one woman, but while Florence Nightingale had saved the British Army, she had permanently ruined her own health. She had an attack of fever during her work in the Crimea, and the fever and the long-continued strain of work left her in a state of physical weakness from which she never entirely recovered.

On her return all England longed to do her honour, and immediately a testimonial fund of £50,000 was subscribed; but every kind of self-glorification was foreign to Miss Nightingale's principles, and she resolutely avoided every occasion of public notice, and when consulted as to the form of the proposed testimonial, she immediately expressed the wish that the money should be handed over for the training of hospital nurses. The result was the Nightingale Training School in connection with St. Thomas's Hospital—the first in this country—and thus it is to her we owe the highly efficient hospital and nursing system of to-day.

Though practically an invalid, she always took the keenest interest in nursing matters, and for many years after her return to England no step was taken in connection with the Army Medical Department without her advice. It is hard to realise that the frail lady who seldom left her room to take any part in public affairs wielded so wonderful and wide an influence. Trained nursing, which has become so skilled and respected a profession for women, owes its initiation to her; and she laid the foundation of the splendid army nursing system of to-day. The Order of Merit was conferred upon her by the late King, and in 1908 she was presented with the freedom of the City of London.

## AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST AND FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

When I was a resident graduate at Cambridge I went over to take part in a debate at the Oxford Union Debating Society on the subject of University degrees for women. I remember well the intervention of Mr. Hilaire Belloc in the debate. He described in his usual glowing rhetoric his feelings on looking at the picture of *The Woman with the Lamp*, the terrible sufferings of the soldiers and the look of infinite pity on the face of the woman. "And that is the reason," said Mr. Belloc, "I don't want women to become scholars and to take degrees." I did not then know what has now come to light in the obituary notices, that Florence Nightingale, the subject of the picture, was herself a capable scholar both of Latin and of Greek, and also of mathematics. In consequence of the fact that her father had advanced views he had done what was most unusual in those days and had given to his daughter the same education that he had had himself; and it was probably because of this detailed training she had had that she was able to carry out so effectively her wonderful mission. Anti-Suffrage arguments are mostly of the same kind of material as Mr. Belloc's fancy—exotic dreams which vanish in the light of day.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

## W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

### Mrs. Pankhurst in Wales and Scotland.

To-day (Friday) evening, Mrs. Pankhurst is speaking at a public meeting at Bangor; to-morrow afternoon, in the same town, she will address a meeting for women only. During September she will be in the Highlands, and several meetings have already been arranged. Particulars will be found on p. 769.

### Two Holiday Tasks.

Join the paper-selling competition and win a prize or a memento. See p. 766.

Carry on a Suffrage Campaign at your holiday place; hold informal meetings, canvass the houses, sell VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Literature for Holiday Work.

1.—The excellent postcard cartoon, "What's Sauce for the Peer is Sauce for the Premier"; price 1d. each or 7s. a hundred.

2.—Two Leaflets on the Conciliation Bill and why it should become law. The first, entitled "The Votes for Women Bill," was referred to in these columns last week. It is now ready, price 6d. per 100 or 4s. per thousand, post free. The other, entitled "The Conciliation Bill Explained," is referred to on p. 769, and will be ready in a few days. Price, 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free.

3.—"The Men's Case for a Million Votes for Women." Full report of the speeches made in the House of Commons in favour of the Conciliation Committee's Bill; discount price 9d.

These new publications, as well as a variety of other literature, etc., can be had at the Women's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.



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## TWO NEW BOOKS. Famous Women of Florence.

The Archives of Florence are full of pathetic and heroic and beautiful stories of Florentine women. Poets sang of them, painters have made them the subject of world-famed pictures. They were renowned in their day not only for their beauty, but for their learning, their philanthropy, their splendour, and their power.

One of the most brilliant tokens of the Vita Nuova of Civilisation which we call "The Renaissance" was undoubtedly the "New Woman" of that day.

Mr. Edgumbe Staley has chosen seven stories of women\* to illustrate the different spheres filled by women of strong personality in that great period. Beatrice (Dante's Beatrice) the emblem of the purest and noblest human love; Lucrezia de Tornabuoni, the most accomplished woman of the Renaissance; Simonetta, the woman who inspired romantic passion in the greatest men of her time, exhibiting on her part a perfect self-control and self-possession; Giovanna degli Albizzi, who with her husband set the standard of civilisation and refinement in Florence; Lisa de Sherardi (Monna Lisa), whose fascination Leonardo da Vinci has portrayed in the picture that now hangs in the Louvre, and Bianca de Cappelli—the child of romance, the wife of a king, the most brilliant figure in the sunset of the Renaissance.

The author knows his subject well, and the book is full of information as to Florentine history and as to the manners, ceremonies, and customs of the age. The illustrations are beautiful. They are reproductions of some of the most famous pictures in the world. It is a pity that the style is marred by certain trivial vulgarities of expression that grate unpleasantly upon the mind. A man who in these days talked of love as "the blissful passion," of children as "olive branches," who referred to the "disconsolate widower's" state of "single blessedness," would soon find himself out in the cold, and the mistake is even more inexcusable in a writer.

Nevertheless the historian has re-created a world full of romance, full of stirring movement, full of colour and interest, peopled with lovers of life, and lovers of love, as well as lovers of art and learning, a wonderful setting for his "Belle Donne di Firenze."

## A PAGEANT OF GREAT WOMEN.

Those who visited the Women's Exhibition at Prince's Skating Rink, a year ago, may remember a striking cartoon exhibited by the Women Writers' Suffrage League. The design, which showed Justice, Prejudice and the Woman, was by Mr. W. H. Margeson, and the idea suggested was carried out in a most effective pageant at the Scala Theatre by the Actresses' Franchise League last November. Now the words spoken by the Woman (Miss Adeline Bourne) have been published. They were written by Miss Cicely Hamilton, the author of "Diana of Dobson's," "Marriage as a Trade," "How the Vote was Won," and other publications. The book is published under the title "A Pageant of Great Women," and is embellished by portraits of the author, who took the part of Christian Davis, of Miss Ellen Terry as Nance Oldfield, Miss Edith Craig as Rosa Bonheur, and many others. The words immortalise the deeds of great women in the learned professions, in art, in science, in religion, women as heroines, as Queens, and as warriors. As everyone who saw the pageant will remember, the Woman calls each group of women in turn to prove to Prejudice her argument that it is time women regained their freedom, and Prejudice having departed convinced against his will, the Woman says:—

I have no quarrel with you; but I stand  
For the clear right to hold my life my own:  
The clear, clean right! To mould it as I will,  
Not as you will, with or apart from you.  
To make of it a thing of brain and blood,  
Of tangible substance and of turbulent thought—  
No thin, grey shadow of the life of man!  
Your love, perchance, may set a crown on it;  
But I may crown myself in other ways—  
(As you have done who are one flesh with me)  
I have no quarrel with you; but, henceforth,  
This you must know: The world is mine, as yours,  
The pulsing strength and passion and heart of it:  
The work I set my hand to, woman's work,  
Because I set my hand to it. Henceforth  
For my own deeds myself am answerable  
To my own soul.

The book is dedicated to Miss Edith Craig, whose ideas the lines illustrate.

## THE HAPPY WARRIOR.

(To Mrs. Pankhurst.)

From the old to the new, to the new world before her,  
She carries her cause;  
While, echoing wide, acquiescent to score her  
For breaking of laws,  
Timid women defer, seeing mirth in our faces,  
To us, O my brothers,  
Who, praising, rewarding unworthier graces,  
Can question within us why custom displaces  
The grace of our mothers?

What though the ridicule, what though the slight,  
Under such laws,  
Fall on a woman who, daring to fight,  
Keeps faith with her cause,  
We who deride her, content as we are,  
Brothers, my brothers,  
Have seen in her forehead the birth of a star,  
Have heard, like a bugle before and afar,  
The cause of our mothers!

WITTIE BYNNE.

\* "Famous Women of Florence." By Edgumbe Staley. London, Constable and Co. Ltd. 18s. 6d. net.  
"A Pageant of Great Women." By Cicely Hamilton. London, The Suffrage Shop (31, Bedford Street, W.C.). Price 2s. net.

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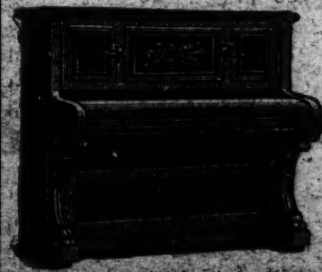
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Class D—Local Unions.  
Class E—Country Campaigns.  
Class F—Posters.

### Class A—Obtaining New Subscribers.

The competition in class A is for those who obtain and send to the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, during the months of July, August and September, the largest number of subscriptions (of not less than six months) to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch.  
3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10.  
To help competitors a special book, containing ten order forms, has been prepared. These books can be obtained free at all the W.S.P.U. shops and meetings, or will be sent post free on application.

### Class B—Individual Selling.

Class B is a competition of individual sellers. Prizes will be awarded to the sellers who dispose of the largest number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch.  
3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10.  
Competitors should obtain a special card. These cards can be obtained free at all shops or meetings or by post from the Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Class C—Pitch Selling.

Class C is a competition for Pitch Captains. Two prizes will be given for the captains at whose pitches the largest aggregate number of VOTES FOR WOMEN are disposed of during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch to Captain and bound volume of "Votes for Women" to each of her sellers.  
2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women" to Captain and memento to each of her sellers.

### Class D—Local Unions.

Class D is a competition for local Unions. First and second prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales by local Unions during the months of July, August and September.

### Class E—Country Campaigns.

Class E is a competition for Country Campaign centres. First and second prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales by Country Campaign centres during the months of July, August and September.

(Form of Prizes in Classes D and E not yet decided.)

### Class F—Posters.

Two prizes will be given to those who are most successful in interesting newsgazettes in the paper and inducing them to exhibit a poster each week. The prizes will be for the largest number of promises obtained to show posters regularly. Orders obtained should be sent direct to the Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women."

The Circulation Manager, VOTES for Women, 4, Clements Inn, will be pleased to supply further information in answer to any enquiries by post.

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## VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 19, 1910.

## THE WRECKER.

Mr. Lloyd George may have thought that his recent speech on Woman Suffrage would have the effect of reinstating him in the confidence of women and allaying their indignation at his opposition to the Conciliation Bill. This latest utterance of his has, however, confirmed us in the belief that the Votes for Women cause has no more determined and mischievous enemy.

Mr. George's attack upon the political liberties of women began in 1894, when he voted with the Liberal Government then in power against giving votes to women under the Local Government Act. Fortunately the Government were defeated, as the present Liberal Government have been on the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, otherwise women would not now be able to vote for district and parish councils and for boards of guardians. But the incident is important as showing that sixteen years ago Mr. Lloyd George, then a private member, was already opposing all extension of the rights of women.

But even without the guidance afforded by his unworthy record it is perfectly easy to see Mr. George's democratic pose is a sham by which he hopes to conceal his hostility to women's enfranchisement. The use of this method of disguising his animosity is an interesting sign of the strength of our movement, but it excites the indignation and contempt of all who love straight dealing in political affairs.

Mr. George in the course of his speech was at great pains to establish his contention that the Conciliation Bill is undemocratic. Trading on the susceptibilities of Liberals he dwelt at length on the evils of plural voting and declared: "As a Liberal I cannot vote for any bill which increases the number of plural votes!" Now this suggestion as to the effect of the Conciliation Bill which Mr. George sought to convey is without foundation and for the following reason: The male plural voter obtains the plurality of votes of which Liberals complain under the ownership franchise. This franchise is not given to women under the Conciliation Bill—the denial of the vote to women as owners being one of the concessions made to secure Liberal support. Therefore Mr. Lloyd George in describing the Conciliation Bill as one to increase plural voting is either misinformed or is wilfully misrepresenting the facts.

When Mr. Lloyd George, who is trying to block the one and only measure of Woman Suffrage which the House will carry, complains that it does not enfranchise every working woman, and talks of giving votes to all married women, he adds insult to injury, for he knows that such a proposal is entirely outside the range of practical politics. Despite some vague talk of such a measure commanding his support and influence he makes no pretence even that he means to pursue a serious advocacy of it, and actually admits in all too familiar phraseology that other causes have a prior claim upon him. Moreover, he knows, and we know, that his influence and support are far from being powerful enough to carry through a suffrage measure such as he professes to approve.

Married women will strongly disapprove of Mr. George's attempt to use them to destroy the chances of the Conciliation Bill, a measure which while it does not enfranchise them as a body, enables them to vote if they have a

distinct qualification. To set women against women is the method by which certain men constantly seek to attain their own ends—such an attempt will not succeed at the present day, as Mr. Lloyd George will discover. The solidarity of women does not permit of its success.

Moreover, marriage obviously could not constitute a barrier between woman and woman. The single woman of to-day is the married woman of to-morrow; the wife may at any time become the widow. The Conciliation Bill, though it will enfranchise more widows and spinsters than wives, is supported by married women because, whether they individually get votes or not, it gives representation to their sex. But Mr. Lloyd George's illusory promises and wrecking methods could have no effect save that of indefinitely postponing the enfranchisement of any woman whatsoever. In fact, Mr. Lloyd George is as much a wrecker, as much bent on killing every practical proposal for Woman Suffrage as were those opponents of Old Age Pensions whom he denounced because they tried to extend and so destroy his Old Age Pension scheme.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that the *Welsh Herald*, the leading newspaper in Mr. Lloyd George's own constituency, differs from him on the subject of the Conciliation Bill. In the course of a leading article this journal comments upon the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and described the Bill as one to ensure a certain measure of justice between men and women under our present defective franchise laws, and says, "We fail to see anything unreasonable in the demand of the women to be made sharers in the same unjust system from which men suffer . . . Our experience is that those who refuse every good thing that comes to them because it is not perfect have to do without anything at all. The franchise was extended to men only by degrees, and this is the most probable course in the case of women."

The Chancellor's argument that because the Colonies and the four Suffrage States of America have given votes to all adult women the same procedure must be adopted here does not of course hold water. In those countries men had Universal Suffrage long before women were enfranchised, whereas in this country men have a restricted franchise. Further, ours is a more conservative country than these others, sudden and sweeping changes for the constitution being rare. Enfranchised women who, like Lady Stout, the Rev. Anna Shaw and others, come from the Colonies and America to help the cause here, ally themselves with the Suffrage Societies and not with those who adopt the methods of Mr. Lloyd George. But his words will produce a painful impression upon many who have hitherto been his most ardent admirers. His condemnation of active resistance to injustice and subjection will seem to them like a repudiation of his own past, of the action which won him a place in their esteem, for his early career was one of incessant resistance to what he deemed injustice, and only last year he said: "Freedom does not descend like manna from heaven. It has been won step by step, by tramping the wilderness, fighting enemies, crossing Jordan, and clearing the Jebusites out of the land. I do not regret that we cannot obtain these blessings except by fighting. The common people have taken no step that was worth taking without effort, sacrifice and suffering. I cannot pretend to regret this conflict with which we are now confronted. It is well that democracies should now and again engage in these great struggles for a wider freedom and higher life. They represent stages in the advance of the people from the bondage of the past to the blessings of the future. Those who dread these political convulsions, who apprehend from them nothing but destruction and danger have read their history in vain. The race has nothing to fear except from stagnation."

These are brave words whose spirit the Suffragette endeavours to carry out in action.

With the excuse (one of a long series brought into play against us during forty years) that the House of Lords question must be settled before women get the vote we have no patience at all. We seek to make the reform of the House of Commons a constitutional matter more vital and urgent than that of adjusting the relations between Peers and Commons. We are the more intolerant of this excuse, that the Government show no real eagerness to bring the Lords' question to a settlement. In fact, their laxity in this regard is the subject of bitter complaint from the Liberal rank and file. It may be months before the struggle begins and if it is fought by the Government in the same feeble spirit they have displayed up to now, it will drag on interminably to an unsuccessful issue.

We, of the W.S.P.U., are confident that if the Suffrage Bill passes the Commons it will pass the Lords immediately or as the result of agitation. We protest, therefore, against being kept waiting until the Government have finished their quarrel with the Lords. The present difficulty is the veto placed upon the bill by the Government to which Mr. Lloyd George belongs, and we call upon them to remove that veto. Unless the Government allow the will of the Commons, expressed in favour of this Bill, to prevail they will be guilty of the same breach of the constitution which they allege against the Lords. But the fact is that the Government's real quarrel with the Lords is not that Bills approved by the Commons are rejected but that Bills approved by this Government are rejected. This Mr. Lloyd George admitted when he said that the Lords would be "on the whole right" in rejecting the Conciliation Bill after it has passed the Commons.

Such want of principle as this will bring retribution upon the Government, and while women are marching to triumph the Government are moving to their political doom.

Christabel Pankhurst.



# ANTI-SUFFRAGE AND SEX-WAR.

By Laurence Housman.

"Follow an owl," says an old proverb, "and she will lead you to a ruin." Follow an Anti-Suffragist, and you come before long to an antiquated mansion, furnished in the worst taste, and bearing on its front a large and threatening notice—"Trespassers will be prosecuted." It is for the defence of this mansion that the Anti-Suffragist arrays his forces and erects his barricades. But when you come to examine his title to the property, you find it to consist mainly in the fact that there the notice-board has stood unquestioned and undisturbed for hundreds of years, and that for all that time he has merely been bluffing the true owners out of their rights. Conscious that his claim cannot stand investigation, he denounces any examination into the genuineness of his title as "an attack on property," and abuses those who have dared to question his credentials as "instigators of sex-war." By so doing he is wise according to his lights, for his best chance of averting discovery lies in raising a cloud of prejudice; and "sex-war" has indeed for many a horrible and an unnatural sound, implying an attack not merely upon the State, but upon that more sacred and more fundamental institution, the Home.

Now it is true enough that where common rights have been absorbed by individual or by class, or where right-of-way has become obliterated through the raising of impediments to traffic, there does exist a kind of a peace so long as people submit to be defrauded; and for the recovery of lost right from unjust ownership it is generally necessary to carry on some kind of a war. If, therefore, the claim of right happens to be a sex-claim, it is also a kind of a sex-war. But in a civilization where the most hideous and the most unsolved social evils are sex-evils, where, on the testimony of a London magistrate, more than one-half of the cases which come daily before him are cases of wrong done by men to women, and that have to be dealt with under laws which are often an aggravation of the evil—when those are the internal conditions of our modern community, it cannot be maintained that any attack upon such conditions is an attack upon sex-peace, for our legal system and the average moral sense of the community have not yet provided us with a sex-peace worthy of the name.

## The Solution That Failed.

Yet in no other department of life has any would-be solution of the social problem received so limitless, so continuous, and so unconditional a trial as that dominance of the male over the female which the Anti-Suffragist regards as both naturally and divinely ordained. Other problems have formed the subject of vast controversy and of sharp political changes, some of them not having reached a settlement even in our own day, and we might, therefore, expect to find civilisation far more crude in its solution or temporary adjustment of these matters than of one where, on the surface at least, the whole civilized world has been in agreement for generations and for centuries. Yet round this great point of apparent agreement centre the worst moral and social evils of modern civilization, and in every country whose laws one comes to examine there are enactments enforcing the subjection of woman to man which no right-thinking person can possibly regard without shame. How strange it is that so age-long an agreement has done so little to produce anything that can honourably be termed a peace!

But we have to remember that throughout history subjection and peace have not been synonymous terms and that quiescence has never meant more than an absence in subject races of the determination to be free. So it has been with many women in the past, and so it still is with some women to-day. Yet we have only to read Euripides to know that the protest of women against subjection is many centuries old, and that it found voice in the noblest race, civilisation, and literature of ancient times. And in so far as women have been noble in the past, always under the surface of apparent consent has gone a current of revolt. For

many centuries it is likely enough that to such women escape seemed only possible by sex-war, by a banding of woman's forces against man's; and that in so unnatural a division of humanity they saw no hope for their cause. Yet even then, with the world so divided, such a sex-war would have been not against but in support of that true union of interests which subjection is powerless to produce; and if in any sense it is a sex-war which faces us to-day, it is one, at least—and this is surely an important proof of human advance—which does not any longer divide men and women into two separate camps, any more than was the fight for the emancipation of slaves a fight between slaves on the one hand and slave-owners on the other. Many slaves took sides with their owners against freedom, while the bulk of those who fought against slavery were themselves free men, some of whom had been slave-owners in the past. So in this war for the re-valuation of sex, the men who are most morally free and enlightened are rallying to the side of the women, and are fighting against that misdirection of sex-influence which spells not merely the subjection of women to men, but a corresponding and more carefully concealed subjection of men to women.

## How to "Manage" a Man.

To rule men, to extract from the existing sex-relations the last ounce of influence that by hook or by crook she can possibly secure, is the definite and calculated policy of that commanding type of woman Anti-Suffragist which has of late years been adapting itself to public life and the political platform with such conspicuous facility. It is not the claim to wield influence that is objectionable, but rather the "by hook or by crook" method through which it is to be obtained, for it is not an open or an honest method, or one that is likely to produce candour and mutual respect between the sexes; it is merely sex-war, conducted, not in the open, but in ambush, with traps and gins and small envenomed darts, which, while failing to kill, produce bad blood, and breed infection in the race. Generally these methods of warfare are privately conducted, and it is only in the sphere of the home that one perceives their effects. But a few months ago I had the unhappy satisfaction of hearing a very prominent Anti-Suffragist make a public boast of her method—the right one, as she conceived it—of dealing with men. The only effective policy, she maintained, for women to employ towards men was that of "the iron hand in the velvet glove"; and she added the quaint warning that if ever woman removed the velvet glove she would find that "the iron hand had melted." She then proceeded to give a practical illustration of that ideal policy which, in her own dealings with men, had proved so successful. "When my husband," she said, "consults me on any important point, and I advise him as I think best, he always says at once, 'Oh, no, my dear, that would never do at all!' but after a time he goes and does it. Then, if it turns out right, I hear him presently saying: 'Yes, I think I decided for myself very well in that matter.' If, on the other hand, it turns out badly, he immediately says, 'See what comes of taking the advice of a woman!'" And the moral was that in either case the man was to be left contented and happy in his own self-esteem, and more confirmed than ever in his false notion of male superiority. In the very statement of that ideal policy the wife was holding up her husband to public derision: for exhibition purposes she had taken off the velvet glove; and one can only charitably hope that her husband was not among her audience.

There, then, in all its naked deformity, is the doctrine of the true sex-partnership as laid down by one of the most prominent of our woman Anti-Suffragists, ready herself to accept contentedly as an eternal law the inbred conceit of the male mind in its intellectual superiority over the woman, a conceit of which many of us are acutely conscious as an inheritance of almost atavistic force, but of which we do not, if we are wise, ask our woman folk to make us proud, or seek to see the perpetuation in their mother-training of the race.

Stated thus nakedly in a concrete example, we see how ignoble is the policy, and how ignominious are likely to be its results—how in the woman's mind it must needs produce a veiled scorn and contempt for the duped partner whose abuse she accepts as the price for obtaining her end, and, in the man's, encouragement to shift from himself all blame and appropriate all praise over those things wherein they share a common responsibility. If in the past such sex-peace as we possess

has only been obtained by such means, then, assuredly, the breaking of it is not war but deliverance, and those who break it are those whose belief is firm that "honesty is the best policy."

## TREASURER'S NOTE.

All the world is making holiday. And yet the movement which has secured the loyal devotion and service of women is not forgotten. Small sums spared from holiday funds are sent day by day into the treasury. One young member of the Union who had no money to give begged for a little plot of garden ground, and invested a few pence in seeds. During the summer she has sold her carefully-tended flowers, and she joyfully forwards £1 to the £100,000 Campaign Fund.

These contributions sent in during the slack time are specially welcome, for during the month of August the ordinary working expenses have to be met just the same as always. The rent of our extensive offices all over the country has to be paid, and the rent of our many shops also the salaries of our large staff, many of whom are now taking a well-deserved holiday. The Treasury becomes depleted, and must be replenished.

As Treasurer of the Union I specially invite women and men who have hitherto taken no part in this struggle for human liberty for one half of the race to send their first contribution to the Campaign Fund—and to send it now!

E. P. L.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

August 4 to 13.

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Already acknow- ledged 73,735 18 1	Anon. .... 0 3 0
Miss Lucy H. M. Bruce 1 1 0	Miss M. Russell ..... 1 4 0
Miss Charlotte Briggs 0 5 0	Miss Clutterbuck ..... 0 1 0
Miss Nancy Grant 0 2 6	Mrs. Lehmann ..... 0 1 0
"A Gentleman in the train" ..... 0 1 0	Mrs. G. K. Moll ..... 0 2 6
Mrs. A. H. Barnes ..... 0 2 0	Per Lady Constance Lytton Miss Marie Hamilton ..... 0 2 6
Miss Bartlett ..... 0 5 0	Per Miss Maryagon ..... 0 2 6
Miss M. Baker ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Green ..... 0 3 0
Miss Emily A. Bloom- field ..... 0 10 0	Mrs. Dick ..... 0 2 0
Miss Olive Hooper ..... 2 0 0	Mrs. Graham ..... 0 2 0
Profit on "V. I. W." etc. (per Mrs. C. B. Griffiths) 0 1 3	For Procession.
A Sympathiser (do) ..... 0 1 0	Miss L. Garrett ..... 0 5 0
Miss M. S. Gratton ..... 1 0 0	Anderson, M.D. .... 0 10 0
Miss J. Gratton ..... 1 0 0	Miss Ada Wright ..... 0 19 6
A Member ..... 0 6 0	Miss Frances Ward ..... 0 10 0
Miss E. M. Innes ..... 1 1 0	Per Miss Barrett ..... 0 2 6
Mrs. L. Dalton ..... 0 2 0	Miss Fontaine ..... 0 2 6
Miss Dalton ..... 0 2 0	Mrs. Freeguard ..... 0 2 6
Mrs. Bertha Thompson ..... 1 0 0	Miss Lawton ..... 0 2 6
Miss Taggart ..... 0 1 0	Per Lady Constance Lytton James L. Greenway ..... 5 0 0
Miss Kate Wylie ..... 0 5 0	End.
Extra on "V. I. W."— per Miss Sentence ..... 0 0 9	Per Miss Phillips (Banner)
per Miss A. Kelly ..... 0 1 3	Miss Thornton ..... 0 1 0
per Miss K. Kelly ..... 0 2 6	Miss F. Lishman ..... 0 5 0
Nurse T. Lois ..... 0 1 0	Mrs. Mullineaux ..... 0 2 0
Mrs. S. Oldham ..... 0 2 6	Miss Marsh ..... 0 2 0
Mrs. F. Thornycroft ..... 1 0 0	Mrs. Newton ..... 0 5 0
When ..... 0 9 0	Miss Newton ..... 0 5 0
Miss E. M. Richardson ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Foster ..... 0 5 0
Mrs. W. S. Miller ..... 1 0 0	Miss Moss ..... 0 2 0
Miss C. A. L. Marsh ..... 0 1 0	Miss Symes ..... 0 1 6
Miss H. B. Streets ..... 0 4 0	Miss Taylor ..... 0 1 0
Miss Ada Taylor ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Throup ..... 0 1 0
Miss Cecilia Mackenzie ..... 1 0 0	Mrs. Trenholme ..... 0 2 0
Mrs. M. Travers Symons ..... 0 13 6	Mrs. Harding ..... 0 1 0
Miss Annie Myers ..... 0 3 0	Miss Holmes ..... 0 1 0
Miss Della Macdonald ..... 0 4 0	Miss Kemp ..... 0 2 0
Miss Sorrelline Rosena ..... 0 5 0	Miss Beresford ..... 0 2 6
"Carneal & Glenford" ..... 0 10 0	Miss Davies ..... 0 2 0
Miss Seymour Bennett ..... 0 10 6	Miss Arnes ..... 0 2 0
Miss E. F. Hughes ..... 0 2 6	Anon. .... 0 3 6
Mrs. Carter ..... 20 0 0	Mrs. Bompas ..... 0 5 0
"A. W." ..... 0 5 0	Miss Hartland ..... 0 2 6
Mrs. Helen Whitten ..... 0 10 6	Miss Allinson ..... 0 0 6
Miss Marguerite H. Pam Autograph (Mrs. Pank- hurst) ..... 0 3 0	Miss Gill ..... 0 0 8
G. P. ..... 0 2 0	Sale of Toffee ..... 0 13 6
Mrs. C. T. Clayton (sale of tickets) ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Jackson ..... 0 1 0
Per Miss Barrett ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. Hewitt ..... 0 1 6
Mrs. Pilliner ..... 0 10 0	Miss Hanson ..... 0 0 6
Per Mrs. Clarke ..... 4 4 0	For Organiser.
"Self Sacrifice" ..... 0 5 0	Mrs. M. Gillies ..... 0 5 0
Miss Newman ..... 0 3 0	Membership Fees ..... 2 11 0
Per Miss A. Kenney ..... 0 1 0	Collections, etc. .... 2 3 6
Miss Davis ..... 0 1 0	London ..... 0 5 4
Miss Edgelow ..... 0 1 0	Per Mrs. Clarke ..... 0 5 4
Miss Mary Duncan ..... 0 1 0	Total = 47,735 18 1

## THE WOMAN'S "SUSUM CORDA."

Lift up your hearts!  
Glory in pregnant struggle and world labour;  
Joy in the mighty sweep of inspiration  
Killing old sloth and lies with flaming sabre,  
Waking to new-found life a weary nation,  
Lift up your hearts!

'Tis meet and right.  
See England's womanhood: "unsexed" and "shameful"  
Into the fire undimmed woman descended.  
Strong as the Phoenix, fair from the cleansing flame, full  
Glorious comes, age-old experience blended  
With youth's new might.

Lift up your hearts!  
All that have life and breath, with hands and voices  
Raise a great psalm of praise that ye are living,  
Sharing this thing in which the world rejoices,  
Able to do your mite of glorious giving,  
Lift up your hearts!

MARJORIE CORENA.



## MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S ATTACK ON THE CONCILIATION BILL.

Last week Mr. Lloyd George "explained" to the Liberal women of Carnarvon his opposition to the Conciliation Committee's Bill, which has been cordially welcomed by all parties in the House of Commons. An abstract of his speech, with some newspaper comments, appears below.

### An "Explanation."

At Bodnant Hall, near Talyca'n, Conway, Mr. Lloyd George addressed the members of the Carnarvon Women's Liberal Association, on Thursday in last week. Lady McLaren presided.

In the course of his speech the Chancellor said: I have been accused of going back on the promise I gave at the Albert Hall meeting. I do not recede from a syllable of it. Then why did I not vote for the Bill which Lady McLaren called a Conciliation Bill? It is because that Bill did not come up to the conditions under which I, merely repeating the promise given by the Prime Minister, undertook to vote for women's suffrage in the House of Commons. The first was that the Bill should be a democratic one, and the second was that there should be some evidence that women really asked for it. I will not deal very much with the second condition, to which I attach less importance than I do to the first, owing to the very great difficulty there is in getting evidence as to whether women really ask for it or not. I have never voted for a Bill which is not democratic, and I never will. I will tell you why. There are so many artificial obstacles in the way of progress that I decline absolutely to have anything to do with multiplying them. Just to think of the number of artificial difficulties which the Constitution of this country places in the way of any measure of reform which you and I may have set our hearts upon. You have got the House of Lords. There is the congestion of business in the House of Commons owing to the very cumbersome and rather unintelligent Parliamentary machinery which we have got in this country. We have got, in addition to that, registration laws which seem to have been framed in such a way as to make it almost impossible for a man to get on the register. And fourth, and one of the greatest obstacles of all, you have got the plural voter. What I say as a Liberal is this—I do not feel inclined to vote for any Bill that increases the number of plural voters.

### The Effect on Parties.

Now, what is the Bill? A Bill which would give a vote to every lady of property, if she chose to take the trouble, throughout the country. I do not object to that, not at all. But it would only give a vote to barely one-tenth of the working women of the country, and now, if you are going to enfranchise women, you must do it all round. (Applause.) And you must maintain the proportions. I do not want to double the number of plural-property voters in this country, who will be at the command of every Tory organisation to overbear the vote of the electors in a constituency. It may be said that you will enfranchise working women, too. You will enfranchise about one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the working women of the country. The rest will have no vote at all, and, although I do not want to say a word about the working women who would get the vote, they are not really representative of their class, they are not the best representatives of their class as a rule, for the simple reason that they are more dependent, they have not got the same strength and backing to resist undue and unfair influence as the wife of a working man would have.

I believe in enfranchising the working women. I believe in it, and I would vote for it. I have voted for a Bill that would do so. I would do so again, and not only that, but I would use the whole of my influence, whether publicly or privately, to get a Bill of that sort through, because, after all, it is no use saying that the husband's vote is sufficient to represent the interests of the woman.

Let me point this out to my lady friends who complain of my vote and of my friend Mr. Winston Churchill's vote on the late Bill, that the extension of the suffrage in the colonies and in America has been on the democratic principles which we have advocated.

I think it is rather hard that Mr. Churchill and I should be denounced as traitors to the women's cause purely and simply because we have advocated the following of the only successful experiments in women's suffrage which have ever been made in this world, and because we have refused absolutely to support the measure which no suffragist in these countries would ever give his vote for.

When there are so many things claiming the attention of the Imperial Parliament I think it is right that when you come to arrange the order in which they shall be attended to, you should give it first of all to the most urgent things, and, secondly, you should give it in the order in which the petitions have come in, as it were. I do not know that there is real proof, up to the present, that the vast majority of the women of the country are sufficiently interested in the franchise really to ask for it. I am very doubtful about it myself, but I am more than ever doubtful as to whether the cause of the women is being helped by the methods which have been followed during the last few years in advocating the cause of the women. I am very doubtful about it. Women say, "Well we are very impatient," to put it in a very famous but I think very futile phrase, "we want deeds, not words." You cannot in a great cause like this get deeds without words first. (Applause.) There is no cause—I do not care what it is—that

you must not promote, by either the written or the spoken word.

And, after all, has it really taken such a long time when you regard the magnitude of the change? Take the case of Irish Home Rule. Irishmen have been working for it for over 100 years. They have not got it yet.

Here is the cause of Welsh Disestablishment. It is about seventy or eighty years old. Let those who support Welsh Disestablishment go to every Liberal meeting which is addressed by a Minister who supported Welsh Disestablishment and try to break that meeting up. Let a couple of them go down to where the Prime Minister is staying, to his private house, and throw stones at the window, at his wife, and children, and attack him as he is coming out of church. Let them go to a place of worship, and purely because a Cabinet Minister is there disturb the worship, and go to a national musical festival and create a disturbance there in the cause of Welsh Disestablishment. Let them go to every election and work hard against candidates who are pledged to Welsh Disestablishment and work for those who are pledged against it. They have only got to go on doing that for three or four years, and I will guarantee to them no man or woman here will see Welsh Disestablishment unless they are going to live to the age of Methuselah. And yet these are the tactics pursued by presumably intelligent ladies, and these are what they call deeds and not words—(laughter)—and that is the method which they take to impress upon the people of this country the capacity of woman for political life. (Applause and laughter.)

### Don't be Bullied!

Well, there are many ways of looking at that, but my own view is that it is a fatal method. I know it has done harm. I know that it has put back the cause of the suffrage in very influential quarters, very. After all, no man who is worth his salt can be bullied into doing a thing. You cannot successfully carry on any political enterprise by losing your temper. Political life is full of disappointments. You think you are getting your Bill, and something comes and puts it off. That is not an experience that is confined to the women's cause. The great thing is to go on persistently, intelligently. Show restraint, show capacity, show daring, fight to convince the people, and you are bound to win. What would have happened supposing we had given facilities to the Bill, supposing it had gone through, with the Prime Minister speaking against it, with a dozen members of the Liberal Ministry voting against it. It would have gone to the House of Lords. Supposing the Lords had thrown it out what would have happened? We should then have had to fight the House of Lords upon the rejection of the Women's Conciliation Bill. The Liberal party would be in the position of having to fight the House of Lords on a question as to which half its leaders thought the House of Lords on the whole were right. It is folly, it is madness. I can imagine nothing more fatuous. We cannot allow the British Parliament to be dictated to by anybody except the constituencies. If they say they prefer this Bill they will get it. But I don't believe they will. When it is settled it will have to be settled on the same basis as it has been settled in America and the colonies.

You are my constituents, you work here for me at elections, and I frankly acknowledge the services rendered by the Women's Liberal Association during the past twenty years. I felt I owed you this explanation. I was afraid that you would think I was deserting a pledge that I had given. I want to assure you I stand by every promise I had made, and I will devote myself with as much energy as I can spare from the prosecution of other causes, to which, after all, I frankly admit I am more committed, causes to which I have devoted myself all my life; but I shall do all that in my power lies to help the cause of women to triumph. (Loud applause.)

## SOME OPINIONS OF THE SPEECH.

### MR. BRAILSFORD IN "THE TIMES."

Mr. Lloyd George's case against our Bill is that it would "double the number of plural voters on the register," and he went on to say that "it would give a vote to every lady of property throughout the country." He announced his opposition to our Bill before it was drafted. I venture to question whether he has yet troubled to study it. Our Bill confers no vote at all in respect of property, if by that term he means ownership. The only qualification which it extends to women is that of occupation. A wealthy woman might own house property in a dozen constituencies, but she would acquire a vote only in respect of the house of which she was the actual "inhabitant occupier." A charwoman who occupied an East-end tenement would be enfranchised on precisely the same terms. . . . There could be no plural voting under the Conciliation Bill, save perhaps where a woman is the bona-fide occupier of a house in one constituency, and a shop or office in another. It is doubtful if there are a hundred women in the three kingdoms who would possess that double qualification in their own right. . . . If the woman's municipal franchise, which our Bill extends to Parliamentary elections, is so unjust to the working classes as Mr. Lloyd George contends, it is curious that successive Liberal Governments since 1868 have been content to leave it unreformed, and still more curious that the

Labour Party is all but unanimous in its support of our Bill.

Again, he points out how unpleasant it would be if after our Bill had passed the Commons the Lords should reject it, whereupon "the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and he and other members of the Ministry would have to admit to their constituents that in this matter the House of Lords were right." This is new light on the Constitutional controversy. The House of Lords, then, may be right to overrule the House of Commons? It is not "the will of the people as expressed by its elected representatives in the House of Commons" which ought to "prevail," but the will of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Churchill. But even the new oligarchy is not agreed. The Cabinet is no more nearly unanimous about adult suffrage than it is about our Bill. For our part we prefer to regard the House of Commons and not the Cabinet as the Legislative Chamber. It has given our Bill a great majority. We demand its passage into law.

### "THE GLOBE."

At the Albert Hall Mr. Lloyd George not long ago delivered a speech which certainly seemed to range him among the most enthusiastic advocates of Women's Suffrage, but of course you never can tell. It seems there were conditions, exceptions, and what not, which ordinary people, and particularly ladies anxious for the vote, could not be expected to understand. The net result of the whole thing was, however, that when the only Bill giving women the vote which ever had the remotest chance of passing into law came before Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George, that enthusiastic Suffragist, somehow or other found himself unable to vote for it. That the Bill was killed was largely due to the attitude taken up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we really do not see that he has very much ground of complaint if the exasperated ladies denounce him as a traitor, and drop sidelong references to the unfitness of Celts for the science of government. Even Mr. Lloyd George in his calmer moments—if he has any—must admit that they have some little excuse for their irritation. He is, it appears, so extremely, so fanatically, in favour of giving votes to all women that he cannot consent to give votes to some women. It seems a curious attitude to take up, but no doubt Mr. Lloyd George knows best. Half a loaf is generally supposed to be better than no bread, but Mr. Lloyd George is so determined on presenting the ladies with the entire baking that he is prepared to let them starve until it can be handed over to them in the mass. We hold no brief, as our readers know, for Women's Suffrage, but we confess that if we were among the advocates of that cause, the excuses with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought fit to fob them off yesterday would arouse in us a feeling of physical nausea. When he came to deal with the future, the vista of patience which he opened out to the clamouring ladies was calculated to drive them to dog-whips or despair. Apparently they have got to wait for their Bill until the House of Lords has been destroyed, Irish Home Rule set up, the Welsh Church disestablished, and the plural voter abolished. . . . Mr. Lloyd George is eagerly, almost wildly, in favour of the Suffragists, but it is perfectly clear that if he has his way most of them will be dead and buried long before there is the smallest chance of their obtaining the vote.

### "THE SCOTSMAN."

An apologist could hardly be more awkward than Mr. Lloyd George is in the defence he has attempted of his position on Women's Suffrage. Insincerity and uncompromising partisanship and travesty of fact are obtrusive in every passage of his speech to the Carnarvonshire Women's Liberal Association. . . . But the position which is a palpable absurdity, the argument which is inherently false, is that of the politician who announces himself as above everything a democrat, and yet opposes the enfranchisement of a million persons on the ground that it would be un-democratic. . . . The Suffragists may well reproach Mr. Lloyd George with thinking meanly of their reasoning faculty. It is as if he had said to himself that it did not matter how he turned his argument topsy-turvy, seeing that he was talking to women about women. . . . When Mr. Lloyd George surveys the recent past his figures are fanciful; when he looks into the future they are fantastic.

Who, then, are the really independent women whom Mr. Lloyd George wishes to enfranchise? There is one class above all others in whose interest he is ready to use "every influence he could possibly exercise." She is, of course the best representative of her sex. She is not so "dependent" as the women of property or the women who are earning their own living. In her there is the highest development of spirit; in her the safest intelligence; in her the best instructed judgment on affairs. The really independent and capable woman of Mr. Lloyd George's preference must be described in his own words. "The wife" (of a drunken husband) who had to try to keep "the home together on the miserable ragged remnant of a salary which her husband gave her would be only too glad," he said, "to have the chance to vote for a Bill to reduce the number of public-houses." "The man," Mr. Lloyd George continued in this passage, which reads like a mockery of pitiable misery, "had such gratification as the drink gave him; the woman had to face for the whole twenty-four hours the squalid, miserable, unfurnished home

"with its hungry and ragged children—it was she who suffered the perdition of it. And in such a case she above all others ought to have the vote to protect not merely herself, but her little children as well." This is the woman who is not dependent—the hopeless drudge, into whose wretched home the Radical canvasser is to go with political leaflets and fiscal publications, and from whom a more enlightened opinion, a more mature and reliable judgment is to be obtained than from a woman who daily orders large properties or wins her living with skill of hand and effort of brain. It is hard to find any other word than cruel for this use of the poor, beaten, ignorant, yet patient woman of the slums as a Radical red herring. The suffragist is told that she has not the "same strength and backing," that she is not so well equipped, as the wife of the drunken and hard-hearted workman. The nonsense of the pluralist figures is nothing to this. Mr. Lloyd George has incurred grave responsibility—he has embittered the suffrage controversy, for he has treated the women who are earnest in it with contempt.

### "EDINBURGH EVENING NEWS."

Women's Suffrage just now is at a stage remarkably like that of the working man franchise in the days of the early Radicals. What a disappointment was the First Reform Bill! It was assailed at once as a mere enfranchisement of the middle class. But it was a beginning, and upon it the structure of a fuller franchise was gradually built. Just so with women's franchise. As long as a property qualification exists for men, it cannot be objected to on principle in the case of women. The principle in itself having Mr. Lloyd George's approval, the women may ask: "Why not make the experiment on a limited scale for the benefit of those women who do actually desire the vote?" There may be a long term of discussion and controversy before even this is done, but it is the cautious, tentative plan upon which most British reforms are translated into realities.

### "THE TIMES."

The Carnarvonshire Women's Liberal Association has given Mr. Lloyd George very little breathing space after the labours of the Session. Meeting on Wednesday at Bodnant, on the invitation of Lady McLaren, it managed to extract from him a fresh "apologia" for the vote he gave lately in Parliament against the second reading of what he adroitly labelled as "that Bill which has been called a Conciliation Bill." It is rather piquant that this "apologia" should have been delivered at the in tance, or at least under the auspices, of so ardent a suffragist as Lady McLaren. But Mr. Lloyd George was quite equal to what, for a less courageous and less versatile speaker, might have proved to be a somewhat delicate task. In point of fact, no "apologia" was really needed. As we pointed out at the time, Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards the so-called Conciliation Bill was entirely consistent with his previous declaration at the Albert Hall, and "ought not to have taken the ladies by surprise."

### MR. KEIR HARDIE AT THE DURHAM MINERS' DEMONSTRATION.

If they wanted women to remove all their grievances, let them help the women to get the vote. (Cheers and laughter.) He had hoped they would get a beginning with that this session, but the speech of Mr. Lloyd George on Friday could only mean that he (speaking, doubtless, for the majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet) preferred that agitation, with all it involved to women, should be allowed to continue indefinitely rather than make a beginning in removing the greatest political injustice from their political system. He was sorry it should be so, but on the Liberal Government rested the responsibility. Women had not got votes, but he believed it would not be long before they would have votes, and if they would not make a better use of them than the men had done, he thought they would not make a worse use of them. But they would not get votes by trusting to the Liberal party. If there were any doubt upon that score, the speech of Mr. Lloyd George, at a garden party of women last week, must have convinced any who were in doubt—the most heartless, the most callous speech on the women's question which had ever yet been made by any front rank politician.

### FROM A LIBERAL WOMAN.

I beg to enclose a trifling donation to the funds of the W.S.P.U., and, as a "Liberal woman," to express my indignation and disgust that the Women's Bill should have been subjected to such unfair and *il-liberal* treatment at the hands of those who still call themselves Liberal statesmen! The recent action of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill in voting against the second reading of our Bill in the House of Commons (an action which has been accentuated by Mr. Lloyd George in his recent speech to the Carnarvon W.L.A.) has caused the last scale to fall from my eyes, and I now realise that we have been betrayed and insulted by those whom we honestly believed to be our friends and supporters in the present Government.

It is a cruel blow, but it will have the effect of causing many of us henceforth to concentrate on suffrage and to refuse ever again to be "party hacks."

I pray that you and all who are working to this great and noble cause may have strength and wisdom for the work which still remains to be done. May God guard us all at this crisis and teach us how to fight. For "Who teacheth like Him?"

Cordially yours,

A Liberal Woman.



## THE CONCILIATION BILL.

### Two Leaflets worth Circulating.

We referred last week to a short leaflet on the Conciliation Bill to be obtained from the Woman's Press, 155, Charing Cross Road, W.C., price 6d. a hundred; 4s. a thousand, post free. This week we have pleasure in drawing attention to a longer leaflet prepared by the Conciliation Committee, which can also be obtained from the Woman's Press, the price being 9d. a hundred; 6s. a thousand, post free. The leaflet is called "The Conciliation Bill Explained," and proceeds as follows:—

### WHAT IS THE CONCILIATION BILL?

An attempt to bring all political parties together in support of a moderate and practical plan for giving votes to women. The Bill was drafted by a committee of fifty M.P.'s, representing all four parties in the House.

It has succeeded so well that on July 12 it was carried on the second reading by a majority of 110—a larger majority than the Budget got.

Among those who voted for it were:

Mr. Birrell	Mr. Barnes
Mr. John Burns	Mr. Keir Hardie
Sir Edward Grey	Mr. Shackleton
Mr. Haldane	Mr. Snowden
Mr. Balfour	Mr. Devlin
Mr. Bonar Law	Mr. Healy
Mr. Lyttelton	Mr. Kettle
Mr. Wyndham	Mr. W. Redmond

### WILL IT GIVE VOTES TO ALL WOMEN?

No! It will give votes only to women who pay rates and taxes (whether directly or as part of the rent). The women who already have votes for Town and County Councils will by this Bill have them for Parliament. There is no dangerous innovation here. It is common sense that a woman who can choose a County Councillor can also choose an M.P.

### WHAT WOMEN WILL GET THE VOTE?

Chiefly Women Householders. A Householder is a woman who occupies a dwelling house, or part of a house over which she has full control, however small it may be, and however low its value. A duchess may get a vote for her palace, and a charwoman for her cottage, or even (if she has full control) for a single room. The few business women who occupy shops or offices worth £10 a year will also get the vote, precisely as men do.

### WHY ARE THESE WOMEN CHOSEN?

Because they are heads of households which at present are unrepresented. Every man who is the head of a house may qualify as a voter. These women have the same responsibilities as men householders. Most of them are widows, and many have children dependent on them. The rest are chiefly single women earning their own living.

### WHAT ABOUT MARRIED WOMEN?

A wife will not get the vote unless the house is rented in her name. But a woman will not be disqualified simply because she is married. This means that a sailor, a fisherman, or a commercial traveller, who is often away from home when the election comes on, may arrange to register his house in his wife's name and so give her the vote. Thus every household will be represented.

### HOW MANY WOMEN WILL GET THE VOTE?

About one million in the three kingdoms.

### WILL IT STOP THERE?

That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors. There are seven and a half millions of men voters.

### IS THE BILL FAIR TO THE WORKING CLASSES?

Well, the Labour Party think so. Mr. Shackleton introduced it. Thirty-two Labour members voted for it, and only two against it.

Look at these figures.

In London 87 per cent. of the registered women occupiers are working women. Out of 189,000, no less than 30,000 are charwomen. (See *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1908.)

In Bolton in 1904 the Liberal Agent, Mr. Gerrey, found that 90 per cent. of the women occupiers are working women.

In fifty other towns the Independent Labour Party found that the average of working women is 82 per cent.

Surely this is democratic enough.

### ON WHAT GROUNDS WAS THE BILL OPPOSED?

Some speakers in the debate objected to giving votes to any women. Others said that all women should be given the vote at once. Some objected to the Bill because a few married women will get votes. Others said every married woman should have a vote.

Our opponents are all at sixes and sevens. We know what we want.

All the women's Societies, the suffragists and the suffragettes, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Conservative Franchise Association, and the Co-operative Women's Guild support this Bill.

### WHY HAS NOT THE BILL BEEN PASSED?

Because the Prime Minister refuses to give time. Yet Parliament has never had less to do than it has this session. There never is time for a women's Bill. Six Bills to give votes to women have passed their second reading since 1870, and none of them has been allowed to go further. Is this your notion of fair play?

### ELECTORS! TELL YOUR MEMBER TO INSIST

that the Government must give time for this Bill to be passed through all its stages in the autumn session.

The leaflet concludes with the text of the measure and an appeal to support the Bill.

## WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—May I state, with reference to the interesting letter, "A Call to Women," that the Rev. Hatty Baker's argument in favour of women in the Ministry, is a point that was strongly urged by the first woman minister, who, at the request of the *Daily Mail*, wrote an article on the subject, concluding with the Psalmist's words:

"The Lord giveth the word,  
The women that publish the tidings are  
a great host."

Again, I remember a sermon in which she took as her text these words from the book of Judges: "And there was at that time Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, who judged the people. And she sat under a palm tree which was called by her name, between Rama and Bethel in Mount Ephraim; and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment."

But her favourite text was ever the glorious words in Galatians: "There can be neither Jew nor Gentile, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

She was inducted into her church in September, 1904. In giving the charge to her hands it was stated that the world stood in need of woman's contributions and views on grave moral problems, social questions and religious difficulties.

On July 1, 1905, she solemnised her first marriage, when for the first time in our religious history the wedding certificate bore the name of a woman as the officiating minister.

In conclusion may I say that no woman to whom has been given the great privilege of listening to a woman preacher but must have been struck by the suitability of woman for the high profession of the Ministry.

Yours, etc.,

AGNES CLARKE.

Leicester.

Dear Sir,—I was very pleased to see the Rev. Hatty Baker's letter in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and I heartily endorse all she says. Those of us who have read, marked, and inwardly digested Charlotte Brontë's "Shirley" know what was wrong, and the same thing survives to-day. All honour to many of our good ministers who nobly try to do all they can in the way of uplifting the people, but is the hothouse, conventional atmosphere in which many of them are forced to live conducive to the best growth of a wholesome spiritual life? Let each woman find her true vocation, even if it be as a preacher. She will have much prejudice to uproot, and the thorns mentioned by the Rev. Hatty Baker will need clearing away, but what a splendid work she will have done if she has acted so as to be a bridge for others to cross over.

Yours, etc.,  
C. M.

Manchester.

Dear Sir,—Your readers will welcome Miss Hatty Baker's letter in your issue of last week, urging women to come forward for the work of the Ministry.

For the benefit of those who are inclined to do so may I point out that Manchester College, Oxford, is and has been for many years open to women as well as to men. The Rev. Gertrude Von Petzold received her training there.

Manchester College "adheres to its original principle of freely imparting theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular theological doctrines." Its students are free to work for the denomination to which they feel most drawn.

Manchester College asks that a University degree should be obtained before the theological course of three years' duration is entered upon; and offers exhibitions that can be held by the "external" student, who is studying at some University, and others for the three years' theological course at the College itself.

I shall be very pleased to give what further information I can to any woman who is anxious to become a fully qualified minister.

Yours, etc.,

MARGARET B. CHOOK

25, Chalfont Road, (External Student of Manchester College, Oxford).

### MRS. PANKHURST'S HIGHLAND TOUR.

The arrangements for Mrs. Pankhurst's Highland tour are progressing favourably. The following is a list of some of the meetings:—

Aug. 29	Bridge of Allan Music Hall.
Sept. 2	North Berwick.
" 5	St. Andrews.
" 7	Loxismouth Drawing-room Meeting.
" 8	Elgin Public Meeting.
" 9	Inverness.
" 12	Craigellachie.
" 13	Granddon.
" 14	Newton Moor.

After September 16 Mrs. Pankhurst will take meetings in Thurso and Orkney.

Miss Una Dugdale will be glad to hear of members and sympathisers living in these districts who could give hospitality to Mrs. Pankhurst and worker, lend motor cars, or help in arranging and making the meetings known among their friends.

All communications to be addressed to Miss Una Dugdale, 15, Stanhope Place, Marble Arch W.

## REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Work is going steadily forward. Members, even those on their holidays, are organising meetings and selling the paper in places hitherto unexplored, and many reports have been sent in of campaigns started in some of the holiday resorts.

No member will wish to be out of it, and there is no need, for there is plenty of work for all. Members going on holiday are asked to keep the flag flying. Wear your badge, sell or distribute *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, hold meetings wherever possible, and do all in your power to spread the movement amongst those who are as yet outside.

### General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Miss Ainsworth, who has returned from holidays, makes a special appeal for volunteers for paper selling. Members of the Union do not need to be told how important this work is—especially now, when the movement has reached such a critical stage in its history. It is hoped during the next few weeks to start several new paper pitches. Why not aim at having one at all the principal street corners? This can be done if members volunteer. Will they come forward immediately? Write or call upon Miss Ainsworth, the Woman's Press, 155, Charing Cross Road, who will gladly welcome any help and will give all necessary information and advice. She will also be glad to hear from members going on holidays who will take a dozen papers to dispose of. Remember the Paper-Selling Competition!

### BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. Halsay, 45, Cambridge Mansions.

The attention of members and friends is called to the change of time of the Sunday meeting, which in future will be 6 p.m. A most successful meeting was held in the park last Sunday, when Miss Berlin made a

### HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—40, Heath Street.  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. E. B. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath, N.W.

An appeal is made to all local members and sympathisers to help in obtaining subscriptions for shop expenditure; also any friend having a good-sized cupboard to lend is invited to send it along, as one is greatly needed to keep stock, &c.  
Will anyone volunteer to keep shop on Saturdays from 10.30 to 1.30, or 1.30 to 5.30, and Mondays 10.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.?

### HENDON.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Noble, Derby Lodge.

### ILFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. C. Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.

Work progresses most satisfactorily. Miss Haslam's meeting at Barking was as successful as usual. Members drove down with colours flying; while at Ilford on Saturday, in spite of the downpour, Mr. Bowden-Smith addressed a splendid crowd that gathered and remained, dripping but cheerful, for two hours, and then asked for more. Members and friends will be glad to know that Mr. Wilson, stationer, High Road, now sells the paper and displays a *VOTES FOR WOMEN* poster. It has been suggested that a Drawing-room Meeting be held for new members. The secretary would be glad to hear from any members or friends who are interested.

### ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casserley, 30, Church Crescent, Maxwell Hill.

An excellent meeting was held at Copenhagen Street on Wednesday evening, when Miss Jacob addressed an interested audience. Will members returning from holidays kindly communicate with the secretary, who is in need of help for open air meetings and paper selling?



The N. W. London Union Shop in Kilburn.

splendid speech, the chair being taken by Miss Medwin.

### CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Office—35, Church Street, Camberwell.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Bedford, 54, Barry Road, East Dulwich.  
Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. F. Mackford.

### CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office—168, King's Road.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Hale and Miss Barry.

### CHISWICK.

Shop—197, High Road.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. A. Coombes, 98, Sutt's Court Road.

### CROYDON.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Croydon.  
Tel. 959 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 70, Mayfield Road, Sandhurst, Surrey.

The great event to which the attention of all local members and sympathisers is drawn is the demonstration to be held on Duppa Hill on Saturday, October 8, from 3 to 7 p.m. The speakers will include Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Naylor, and Miss P. Ayrton.

### FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Y. H. Friedlaender, 123, Earlham Grove.

### GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath.

### HAMMERSMITH.

Shop and Office—100, Hammersmith Road.  
Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.

### KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2110 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Bates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Morrison, B.A.

### LAMBETH.

Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 37, Dremstead Road, Brixton.  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acadia Grove, Dulwich.

### LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham.

Shop hours 3 to 5 p.m. Thursdays, 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road.

"What, already?" was said with a sigh of regret by several people on Hilly Fields last Sunday, when Nurse Pittfield declared a most successful meeting closed. *VOTES FOR WOMEN* sold well and people are looking forward to hearing Miss Emily Davison next Sunday. Mr. Bowden Smith addressed a large audience at the Obelisk on Friday, August 12. Thanks are due to Miss Steele for 10s. (promised), Mrs. Brown who has become a contributor to the shop rent fund, and to Miss Jones for some home-made coconut-ice. Will members and friends bear in mind that home-made sweets and jams are always in demand, and that parcels for the autumn Jumble Sale will be most welcome.

### NORTH ISLINGTON (LATE HORNSEY).

Hon. Sec.—Miss Clara Browne, 11, Gladsmere Road, Highgate, and Miss Jackson, 48, Langdon Park Road, Highgate.

### N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—215, High Road Kilburn. Tel. 1183

Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden.

Will all members who from September 1 can help in the shop, etc., kindly communicate with Miss Woolan.

## LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

August.				
Saturday, 20	Ilford, Oakfield Road	.....	Miss Naylor	5 p.m.
Sunday, 21	Battersea Park	.....	Miss L. Ainsworth	6 p.m.
" "	Brookwell Park	.....	Miss Emily Davison; Chair: Mrs. Bouvier	3 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Hilly Fields	.....	Miss L. Tyson	6 p.m.
" "	Streatham Common	.....	Miss Peck; Chair: Mrs. Lamartine	3 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	.....	Yates	6 p.m.
Wednesday, 24	Ilford, Chadwell Heath	.....	Miss Haslam	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Fackington Street	.....	Miss O. Hopkins; Chair: Miss Strachan	8 p.m.
Friday, 26	Wimbledon, Shop	.....	Members' rally	4 p.m.



the organiser *pro tem*. Members have been making good use of the holidays in selling the paper. Mrs. A. J. Webb has had good sales at East Rington, Miss Craig at Penzance, and Miss Bethel Hyams and Mrs. Penn Gaskell at Seaford. Will other members do likewise? Papers can be had from Miss Hyams, 2, Brondesbury Villas, N.W. The shop will re-open on September 1.

**PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.**  
Hon. Sec.—Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 50, Praed Street, W.

During the past week we have been most fortunate in having the help of excellent paper sellers, but others are still needed for fresh pitches, of which there are many as yet unfilled in this district. The shop attracts many of the people going to and from Paddington.

**PUTNEY AND FULHAM.**  
Shop—905, Fulham Road.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Cutton, 37, Parson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

**RICHMOND AND KEW.**  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glangriff, Kew Road, Richmond.

**SYDENHAM AND FOREST HILL.**  
Hon. Sec.—Miss A. M. Pollard, Marshwood, 6, Burg-hill Road, Sydenham.

**WIMBLEDON.**  
Shop: 8, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Tel. 1023.  
P.O. Wimbledon.  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lonsignol, 37, Merton Hall Road.

In spite of the fact that many members are away on holiday the shop has been kept open all day and business almost up to the average. The few members who have achieved this by their untiring stewarding are greatly to be congratulated. A tricolour has been floating above the window to announce to the public that the Suffragettes are on active service at their premises. This ensign and the green and white sunblind with "Votes for Women" in large purple letters have certainly attracted more customers, and the leadless glaze pottery now on show has found a ready sale.

Will members announce their return from holidays as soon as possible to Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, in order to release those who have delayed their holidays to help with the extra work? Sellers are urgently needed if the record of between 150 and 200 copies a week is to be kept up. The Friday pitch has been temporarily taken by Miss A. Nuthall, but the Saturday pitches badly need reinforcement. Will all who possibly can meet at the shop on Saturdays at 7.45 p.m. and join in the paper-selling processions, and if possible send in their names a day or two before, so that arrangements may be made for the numbers? These Saturday evening processions are of immense importance, and to them principally is due the maintenance of the great increase in local sales. Let every member come forward and help to relieve a few already heavily taxed.

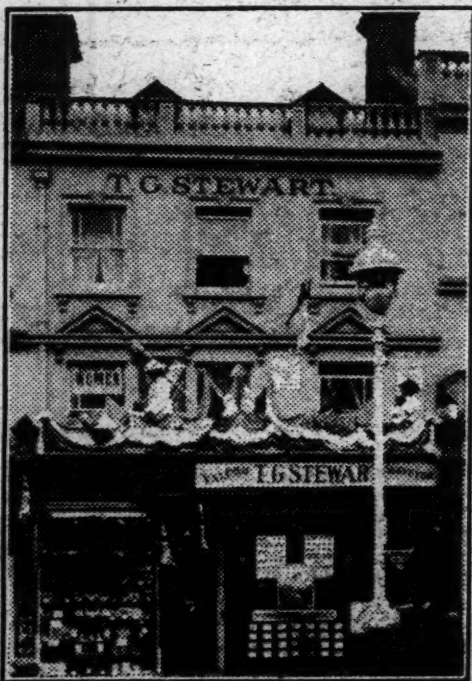
The Friday tea rally at 4 p.m. during the suspension of "At Home" is proving both pleasant and useful, and it is hoped more members and friends will attend each week, forming a nucleus of large gatherings when the autumn campaign opens.

Flowers are still on sale on Fridays and Saturdays. The Sunday evening meetings continue to be a great success, the crowds being larger than ever in the afternoon and full of new faces. Mrs. Leigh addressed an enormous crowd last Sunday, and was inundated with questions.

Members will be sorry to hear that the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Lonsignol, has been once more withdrawn from our midst, this time by the illness of her little son.

## Home Counties.

**BOURNEMOUTH.**  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Gwenllian Lewis, 231, Old Christchurch Road.



Bournemouth "Votes for Women" Shop Decorated for the Centenary.

**BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.**  
Office—4, North Street, Quadrant.  
Tel. 4883 (Nat.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

Large crowds attend our open-air meetings on the beach each evening, thanks to all those who have helped so splendidly by selling the paper, speaking, &c. Miss Speed, of Cardiff, made a most eloquent speech on Friday to a large audience. Mr. Inglis, Miss Rogers, and Mrs. Cooper Iris Ryder have also helped in this way. Paper-sellers, speakers, and chalkers are wanted to help make the holiday campaign a thorough success.

**CANTERBURY AND THANET.**  
Organiser—Miss J. E. M. Macaulay, 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate.

Suffragist visitors to any part of East Kent are asked to make a point of visiting the office at Ramsgate. Here they can be put in touch with the local work, and can also buy any intended presents, as there is a large

and varied choice of literature, badges, stationery, etc., in the colours, as well as a "Found Stall," where tea, cocoa, jam, etc., may be purchased; also Miss Rosa Lightman's lavender preparations. The organiser will be very glad of volunteers to take charge of the office, which is delightfully situated, overlooking the harbour. Help is also needed for the open-air campaign, which is being most successfully worked in Broadstairs by the Misses Stoll (Ischi, Callis Court Road); in Deal by Mrs. Min and Mr. Friedlander; in Walmer by Miss Gertrude Harraden (Storey Croft, the Beach); in Dover by Miss Mabel Spink (208, Folkestone Road), helped by Mrs. Robinson; and in Folkestone by Miss Elsie Douglas, helped by the Misses Key and Worsfold. Miss Baillie-Guthrie has done splendid work in Margate, where she has been supported by the Misses Simmons and the Misses Burridge, while Mrs. Hallie has given very valuable help in Ramsgate. Speakers intending to visit East Kent are earnestly asked to communicate at once with the organiser. Volunteers for selling the paper are urgently needed.

Monday, August 22.—Walmer, Miss Macaulay. Chair, Miss V. H. Friedlander, 3.30 p.m.  
Tuesday, August 23.—Broadstairs, Miss Macaulay. 8 p.m.  
Wednesday, August 24.—Folkestone, The Fountain, Miss Macaulay. Chair, Miss Elsie Douglas, 7.30 p.m.  
Thursday, August 25.—Dover, Miss Macaulay, 8 p.m.

**RAYLEIGH.**  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage.

**READING.**  
Shop and Office: 30, West Street.  
Organiser—Miss Margesson.  
The open-air campaign is now in full swing, and Mrs. Bartlett hopes that all members at home during this week will come forward and help her to make it a complete success. Volunteers are urgently needed to help with the meetings, chalking, and selling the paper. Will members and friends call at the shop any morning from 11 to 1, and any afternoon from 2.30 to 5? There is plenty of work for all. A splendid meeting was held on Saturday August 6, in the Market Place, Henley-on-Thames, when Miss Ellen Smith kindly spoke for over an hour; there was a large attendance, and the entire stock of VOTES FOR WOMEN was sold out.

**REDHILL.**  
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Richmond, Fongates House.

## The Midlands.

**BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.**  
Office—33, Paradise Street. Tel., 1443 Midland.  
Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans.

**COVENTRY.**  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Dawson, St. Peter's Vicarage.

**LEAMINGTON.**  
Organiser—Miss Evans, 33, Paradise Street, Birmingham.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Bull, Ashton House.

**LEICESTERSHIRE.**  
Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.  
Tel., 1715 Leicester.  
Organisers—Miss D. Pethick, Miss D. A. Bowker.  
Lady Constance Lytton will speak at the first At Home at Leicester, on Monday, September 12, in the Sunday School Memorial Hall, New Walk, 4 to 6 p.m. All strangers will be welcome. A preliminary notice is given of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit in October—in Leicester Co-operative Hall, October 18, and in Loughborough Lecture Hall, October 19. Tickets will be on sale early in September.

**NORTHAMPTON.**  
Hon. Sec.: Miss Branch, Ambleside, Addington Park Parade.

**NOTTINGHAM.**  
Office—6, Carlton Street. Tel., 4511.  
Organisers—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts.

During August the shop is open on Fridays only: hours 11.30 to 1, 2.30 to 5, and 6 to 7.30, and those who have charge of it would like to do a good trade on that one day weekly. There is a charming tasset 10s. 6d., some pots of marmalade, and some packets of tea, which it is urgently desired should be disposed of, in addition to as many VOTES FOR WOMEN and as much literature as anyone likes to have and will be good enough to fetch. Please come and buy so that the organisers can have the pleasure of seeing empty shelves on their return.

## West of England.

**BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.**  
Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton. Tel., 1345.  
Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.

**TORQUAY.**  
Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Mills, Teandaria, Osney Crescent, Paignton.

## Eastern Counties.

**IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.**  
Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.  
Hon. Sec.: Miss Spencer King, 24, Russell Road, Ipswich.

Members, please do not forget our splendid paper sellers! Come to the Market Place on Wednesday and Saturday mornings, and bring all your friends to buy a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN from them.

**YARMOUTH.**  
Hon. Sec.: Miss Grace Roe, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.  
The Yarmouth Campaign, starting on August 22, promises to be a very enjoyable one. Miss Block, Miss Bond, Miss Margaret Fison, Mrs. Leach, Miss Ada Ridley, and Miss Leonora Tyson will be staying in the district, and Miss Kathleen Jarvis is very kindly arranging to address meetings the first week-end in September.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting in the Town Hall, on September 8, will be a ticket meeting, therefore many canvassers will be needed. The organiser asks members and friends living in Yarmouth, and able to help in this way, to communicate with her.

## Wales.

**NORTH WALES.**  
Organiser—Dr. Helena Jones, "Talafof," St. David's Road, Carnarvon.

Members and friends will be delighted to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst will address a public meeting in Bangor this (Friday) evening, and to-morrow (Saturday) afternoon will speak to women only.

The campaign in the Carnarvonshire boroughs is proceeding well. Successful meetings have been held in

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about our low charges for Dry Cleaning; they arise, naturally, from our method of business. Whilst other firms have a very expensive system of collection, highly rented receiving offices, van collection, attendants' and branch managers' salaries, agents' commission, etc., all of which have to be paid by YOU, we DEAL DIRECT. Our only expense is postage, and we are therefore enabled to quote lower charges than are possible to others.

Our charges are FIXED, so that you know exactly how much you will have to pay, and our 112 years' reputation for excellence is sufficient guarantee of the quality of our work.

**BLOUSES - - Dry Cleaned for 1/3 fixed charge.**

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Criccieth, Carnarvon, Bangor, and Pwllheli, and much interest has been shown. It is rumoured that in the hotels of Criccieth Votes for Women is the current topic.

The annual regatta was held at Carnarvon this week, and a decorated Votes for Women boat was the great attraction of the day. A good meeting was held in the evening, many papers being sold and a good collection taken.

Friday, August 19.—Bangor, Public Meeting, Mrs. Pankhurst.  
Saturday, August 20.—Bangor, Afternoon Meeting for Women only, Mrs. Pankhurst.

**NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES.**  
Office—44, Clarence Place, Newport.

## North-Eastern Counties.

**BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.**  
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

**HARROGATE AND ILKLEY.**  
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Bertha N. Graham, 18, Cornwall Road.

The afternoon meeting on August 12 took place as usual on The Stray. A new speaker, Mrs. Keeling, opened the proceedings, and was followed by Miss B. N. Graham, Miss Underwood, and Miss Millar Wilson, and the audience, though small in consequence of the weather, proved attentive. Mrs. Keeling, Miss Burnett, and Miss Underwood continue to work hard at paper-selling.

Friday, August 19.—Harrogate, The Stray, Miss Bertha Graham, Miss J. Millar Wilson, 3 p.m.  
Friday, August 26.—Harrogate, The Stray, Miss Bertha A. Graham, Miss Mary Phillips, 3 p.m.

**HULL.**  
Hon. Sec.: Miss Harrison, 14, Walbeck Street.

**NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.**  
Office—77, Blackett Street.  
Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 203, Westgate Road.

During the organiser's absence the flag is kept flying in Newcastle. Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Nora Ball are holding successful meetings in towns and villages in the district, while Miss Cissie Wilcox is in charge of paper-selling. This week Miss Williams, who is in Cornwall, will address a meeting for women only at Devon, a large village in the neighbourhood of Truro. The shop will re-open on Tuesday, August 30, and the first "At Home" will be held on Wednesday, August 31, when it is hoped that members and friends will turn up in large numbers.

**SCARBOROUGH.**  
Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst.  
Hon. Sec.—Miss Saffell, 23, Barwick Street.  
Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marion Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

Miss Hodge (Australia) held two splendid meetings on the East Pier on Saturday, with Dr. Mackenzie in the chair.

The resolution calling on the Government to grant facilities for the Bill was passed at both meetings.  
Saturday, August 20.—East Pier, Meetings 3.30 and 8 p.m.

**SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.**  
Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 15, Marlborough Road, Sheffield.

**YORK.**  
Hon. Secs.—Miss Coults, 85, Nunthorpe Road, and Miss Violet Key Jones, Hawthorne Lodge, Bishopthorpe, near York.

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Receiving Houses: 10, Russell Gardens, Kensington, W.; 68, Rosalyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

## North-Western Counties.

**MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.**  
Central Office—154, Oxford Road, Manchester. Tel.: 3851 Manchester City.

Organisers—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson.

Final arrangements have now been made for the holiday campaign, which commences on Monday, August 22. Will members and friends visiting any of the following districts, Lytham, St. Anne's, Blackpool, Fleetwood, Morecambe, Barrow, Grange, Windermere, Keswick and Buxton, please communicate at once with the organiser?

Members are working strenuously for the Southport Exhibition to be held in December. Manchester is to provide four stalls, and presidents have been appointed as follows:—(1) Household linen, Mrs. Yates; (2) babies' clothes, Mrs. Smith; (3) dolls, toys, Christmas presents, Mrs. Robinson; (4) Christmas cards and stationery, Nurse Griffin. Goods will be thankfully received by the above ladies, either at their homes or at the office.

The open-air campaign has now been resumed, and speakers and workers are asked to volunteer for the meetings given below.

The club-room is open every evening, and members are wanted to take charge of same. Please send names to Miss Allison Toombs.

Tuesday, August 23.—High Street, 7.30 p.m.  
Thursday, August 25.—Didsbury, 7.30 p.m.

**BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.**  
Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Grompton, 68, Hildon St., Bolton.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. F. W. Coops, Heatherland, Heaton, Bolton.

**LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.**  
Office—24, Barry Street. Tel. 3761 Royal.  
Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman.

**PRESTON, ST. ANNE'S-ON-THE-SEA AND DISTRICT.**  
Organisers—Mrs. Bigby, 41, Glover's Court, Preston; Miss Johnson, the Hyde, Lytham.

**SOUTHPORT.**  
Office—12, Nevill Street.  
Organiser—Miss Dora Marsden.

## Scotland.

**EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.**  
Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street.  
Organiser—Miss Burns. Tel.: 6183 Central.

On Thursday, August 11, at the weekly evening At Home very happy and helpful addresses were given by Mrs. Charlton and Mrs. Fraser. The collection taken to augment the open-air campaign fund amounted to £1 12s. 6d. Money was also contributed to cover the complete cost of a portable platform for outdoor meetings. These meetings have been most encouraging, and the number of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold last

## WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

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**Coat & Skirt**  
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Black, Navy, & Cream Serge Gowns ... 2 Gns.  
Tweed, Cloth, & Linen ... 2 Gns.  
Vests, Hopacks, Flannels, Fancy Settings ... 2 1/2 Gns.  
Faced Cloth, Coat, Coating, &c. 3 Gns.  
Three-Quarter Coats ... 1 1/2 Gns.  
Patterns & Designs sent free. A special study made of fitting from pattern Bodice or Self-Measurement Form. Carriage paid to any part of the United Kingdom.

**ALFRED DAY,**  
51 & 52, Park St., Regent's Park (Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.



week was 525. It is hoped to increase the sale steadily; but this can only be done by united and systematic effort. Regular sellers for regular pitches are urgently wanted.

Through the kindness of Miss Hutchison, of Southerton, who has given hospitality, Miss Fraser Smith started the East Fife open-air campaign on Wednesday, 17th inst., with Kirkcaldy as centre.

Friday, August 19.—Uphall. Mrs. Charlton, Miss B. Gorrie, 7.30 p.m.

Saturday, August 20.—Penicuik. Miss B. Gorrie, Miss MacFarlane, 8 p.m.; North Berwick. Miss M. Scott, Miss Mitchell, 8.15 p.m.; The Mound. Miss A. Scott, Miss C. W. Haig, 7.30 p.m.

Monday, August 22.—Leith. Miss M. Scott, Miss M. Gorrie, 8 p.m.

Tuesday, August 23.—Corstorphine. Miss C. W. Haig, Miss Mitchell, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, August 24.—Castle Terrace. Miss B. Corrie, Mrs. Finlayson Gauld, 8 p.m.

Thursday, August 25.—Newhaven. Miss A. Scott, Miss M. D. Roberts, 8 p.m.

**GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.**  
Shop and Office—502, Sauchiehall Street.  
Tel: 615, Charing Cross.  
Organiser—Miss Barbara Wylie.

**DUNDEE.**  
Office—61, Nethergate.  
Organiser—Miss M'Lean.

### Holiday Campaigns.

#### AYLESBURY.

Owing to the kindness of Mrs. Hamilton in lending her cottage for a fortnight's propaganda work, two most amusing and profitable mornings were spent on market days in Aylesbury, Bucks, by Miss Gertrude Eaton and Miss Canning, who had a literature stall gaily decorated to catch the passers-by. People became so interested that there was a general demand for a meeting during the dinner hour which was well attended by nearly 200 people. Many friends of various organisations were present and gladly helped in selling and distributing different societies' literature. This project is heartily commended to suffragettes who wish to add to the pleasure of their holidays and help the woman's cause. A very well attended meeting was also held on Friday evening at Wendover.

#### BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

Miss Constance Marsden, Thorn Bank, Buckhurst Road.

A splendid meeting was held on the sea-front at Bexhill, at which Mrs. Cunningham kindly spoke. The crowd was very friendly, and seemed to enjoy their first Votes for Women meeting. The resolution calling upon the Government to provide further facilities for the Bill was passed with one dissentient, thirty-seven papers were sold, and a great many post cards of the leaders, and badges were also disposed of.

The following account of the meeting from a local paper proves that Bexhill is interested in the Suffragettes: "Women Suffragettes demonstrated in force at Bexhill on Thursday. For a long time during the day an enterprising young lady, attired in a smart green frock, took up her stand in Devonshire Road with a poster bearing the legend 'Votes for Women—What, Never!' and smilingly sold a great number of VOTES FOR WOMEN papers to passers-by."

"It seems that a campaign is being initiated by the local members and visitors, and the first meeting was held on the pavement at the top of Pier Avenue early on Thursday evening. The speakers were Mrs. Cunningham, of London, and Mrs. Strickland, of Hastings. Many people gathered and showed considerable interest in the remarks of the ladies, who hammered home their arguments with true feminine persistency, and gave one or two 'mere males,' who had the audacity to accept the gage of battle, a somewhat merry time."

Miss Marsden will be very glad to hear from anyone staying in or near Bexhill who will help with the meetings, chalking and paper selling. Speakers are especially needed as there are two weekly meetings and very few speakers.

#### LLANBEDR.

An account of an interesting meeting during the N. C. Conference on the Minority Report of the Poor Law reaches us from Farnham. The secretary of the local branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, finding many Suffrage workers among the members, took the opportunity of a free afternoon to organise, with the help of Miss Mabel Atkinson, Mrs. Rigby, Miss Court, of Oxford and others, an open-air meeting at Llanbedr. Notices were chalked on the walls and telegraph-poles, and local shops notified, with the result that a goodly number of residents and summer visitors had gathered when Miss Mary Wilton, of Farnham, took the chair. She spoke of the Conciliation Bill, while Miss Atkinson, who was the principal speaker, put forward some of the reasons for which we claim the vote. She was followed by Mrs. Montague Fordham, of London; Mrs. Crossland, I.L.P., and Professor Tom Jones, of Glasgow. The latter spoke in Welsh for the benefit of some of the old inhabitants who do not understand English.

A large supply of literature was sold and a collection taken, which it was decided to hand over to the funds of the Men's League, who have so constantly helped the societies represented—namely, the National Union of Women's Suffrage, the Women's Freedom League, and the Women's Social and Political Union.

#### LINCOLNSHIRE.

Will any members or friends staying on the Lincolnshire coast during the next few weeks communicate without delay with Miss Crocker, 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham, as help both in speaking and paper-selling, etc., is urgently needed.

#### RAMSEY.

Organiser—Miss Flatman, Post Office, Ramsey, Isle of Man.

The Isle of Man open-air campaign starts on Monday, August 22. Helpers of all kinds are needed and they are asked not to wait to write, but to come along and help. Volunteers are specially wanted for advertising the big indoor meeting to be held in the Pavilion Skating Rink, Ramsey, on Tuesday, at 8 o'clock.

The successful campaign held in the island last year proved how much work there is waiting to be done there. The organiser hopes to go on to Llandudno on Sept. 1. Those members unable to get the holidays in time for the Isle of Man campaign, have a chance to send in their names for that in North Wales. Members not able to help with either of these, are asked to contribute to the £250 fund, which must be raised to clear expenses. An urgent appeal is made for this help, as it is the only means which will enable the

organiser to carry through the work successfully. All communications should be addressed to Miss Flatman, Post Office, Ramsey, Isle of Man.

#### SHERINGHAM.

Paper-selling in Sheringham is progressing steadily, and the local shops are all displaying copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A most successful meeting was held on Friday last on Beeston Hill, at which Mrs. Branch, of Northampton, took the chair, and Miss Maguire spoke. An amusing incident occurred whilst the announcement of the meeting was being completed in stone letters on the sands.

A gentleman passed with a little boy. "So you're in favour, are you, sonny?" he said. "Quite right. Taxation without representation is—what?" "Tyranny," said a little girl on the other side of him, looking up quickly.

#### SOUTHEAST.

Miss Laura Ainsworth will open a holiday campaign during the early part of September. Members and sympathisers willing to help are asked to send their names to her at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

#### SOUTHSEA AND DISTRICT.

Miss C. A. L. Marsh will start a holiday campaign here early in September. Members and sympathisers willing to help are asked to send their names to her at 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

### MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.  
Telephone: City 3104.

Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Duval.

Strand, W.C. Shop:—31, Bedford Street.

We have received several letters in support of the Conciliation Bill from men who omitted to give their addresses. Will the writers of these kindly send their addresses, which will be regarded as confidential, to the Organising Secretary, as above? Good progress is being made with the Manchester branch, and men sympathisers in this city should send their names and addresses to Mr. H. Ambrose Carney, 59, Marshall-place, Manchester, N., who is acting as hon. sec.

Bagshot, Camberwell, Edinburgh, and Reading readers are asked to note that branches of the M.P.U. are in course of formation in these centres. Names and addresses of local secretaries are:—Mr. Alfred J. Abbey, Lightwater Poultry Farm, Bagshot, Surrey; Mr. R. Bowden-Smith, 3, Vestry-road, Camberwell, S.E.; Mr. A. S. Ballantine, 21, Warrender Park terrace, Edinburgh; Mr. Leonard Greenaway, Checkendon, Reading.

To meet the increased expenditure entailed by our active autumn campaign funds are urgently needed. Below are acknowledged contributions received towards the £1,000 Campaign Fund, which this Union must raise before Christmas.

Amount already acknowledged .....	£122 18 0
Men's League (half-share platforms) .....	1 0 0
Miss Ada McKechnie .....	1 1 0
Sydney Millward, Esq. ....	0 1 0
John Almond, Esq. ....	0 4 0
E. H. Watson, Esq. ....	0 2 6
C. W. Rivers-Pantlin, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Entrance Fees .....	0 6 0
	£126 2 6

### NEWS FROM U.S.A.

Women Suffragists in Brooklyn, New York, have thought of a new way of spreading the knowledge of the Suffrage movement: they have had 50,000 paper bags made, and these they supply to the grocers for delivering their goods. On each bag is the following message:—

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

WANTED.—Every woman in Brooklyn to join the Woman Suffrage party and help us to get votes for women.

We want to elect wise and honest officials, who will give us lower taxes, less rent, a clean and happy city and full time in school for every child.

Get a postal card. Write on it this: "I believe in Woman Suffrage." Sign your name and address and mail to Mrs. Robert H. Elder, 80, Willow Street, Brooklyn. You will then be invited to the next meeting in your district. No money dues.

From *The American Suffragette* we learn that Miss Belle Kinney of Nashville, Tennessee, has succeeded in winning the prize in a competition for a design for a monument to the women of the Confederacy. Miss Kinney's design was selected out of 80 sent in.

### FLYING THE COLOURS.

A correspondent sends us an account of a little incident, the moral of which is that if you protest against injustice you can generally win your way. Her private motor-car, decorated with the colours of the Union, was stopped in St. James's Park by a keeper on the ground that "the regulations forbade a car flying the colours to go in the park." Our correspondent asked for the keeper's name, and brought the matter to the notice of the Office of Works. She received a courteous reply, regretting the unauthorised action of the park keeper, and adding that he would be warned in the future. Through her action, therefore, any Suffragette whose private motor car or carriage flying the colours is stopped in the park will know that there is no authority whatever for such action.

### A Suffrage Census.

We hear that the voting competition established by the *Morning Leader* on the woman's suffrage question is being well taken up. They are offering a large number of prizes and very keen interest is being shown on both sides of the question.

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TEA - - - 4d., 6d., 1s.

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A FEW RESIDENT PUPILS RECEIVED.

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Ties, Belts, Chains, Albums, Presentation, Wedding and Birthday Gifts. Clients' ideas carefully carried out. Designs submitted.  
ROBERTA MILLS, 7, Stansfield Road, Brixton, S.W.

## Votes for Women TEA.

1s. 6d. & 1s. 8d. lb.

CHINA TEA, 2s. & 2s. 6d. lb.

## THE WOMAN'S PRESS,

156, CHARING CROSS ROAD.



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